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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
Quarterly Theological Review,
AND
ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JULY, 1830.

ART. I.—*The Life of John Locke, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Journals, and Common-Place Books.* By Lord King. London: Colburn. 1829. 4to. pp. 408.

WE learn from that most veracious of chroniclers, Master Francis Rabelais, that when the renowned Pantagruel laid his hand upon the celestial decretals, he instantly perceived a most delectable tingling at his fingers' ends, felt fresh vigour and activity in his arms, and experienced, withal, an ungovernable propensity to vent his accumulating energies on all manner of evil-doers. Even so we—(being *ex officio* addicted to bigotry and despotism, determined enemies to freedom and independence of thought, and top-full of sanguinary and inquisitorial malignity),—even so we, whenever we lay our hand upon the history of our Church, or upon her formularies and services, or upon the works of her most illustrious worthies and divines, are sometimes sensible of an immediate quickening of the circulation, similar to that which was experienced by the hero in question, and accompanied, too, by a similar impatience for the correction of all offenders against her dignity or her welfare. This sensation has, at times, been so exceedingly importunate, that it has almost tempted us to believe that a portion of the blood of some ancient inquisitor must actually be flowing in our veins. We have recently been visited with a very strong fit of this remarkable affection. We had been, for a time, engaged in the perusal of the volume before us; and we chanced, soon after, to come into contact with certain of the stores of our national theology; and the consequence was, that the symptoms we have described instantly came on with unusual violence. The tickling of the fingers, the muscular orgasm in the arms, with the extreme desire to seize on implements of correction, and to apply them vigorously to the outward man of arrogant and wilful delinquents—all became more troublesome than we recollect to have experienced for a very considerable time before.

Previous to our own examination of this work, it appears that a friend of our fraternity, a most able and zealous son of the Establishment, had been seized with something of a similar emotion; and he expressed his feelings to us by a jocular application of the words of Horace; exclaiming—

“Cur non
Hunc *Regem* jugulas? operum hoc, mihi crede, tuorum est.”

And we must honestly confess, that the author of this volume does appear to us most righteously worthy of *jugulation*. But, then, it also occurred to us, that to put him to death might be almost a nugatory operation. Though the brains were out, it is very doubtful whether the man would ever die! There are some odd people who do not know when they are defunct; or, if they have some suspicion of their own decease, they do not always choose to own it. And this, we cannot help surmising, may be the case with the noble editor and biographer before us. If we might presume to speculate on what takes place in the House of Peers, we should have very little doubt that he *has* been repeatedly slain in his place there. To us, accordingly, it is altogether surprising that he should still venture into the society of living and reasoning men. Yet so it is. He rises again, with twenty mortal murders upon him, just as if nothing had happened. He busies himself with literature and politics, exactly as if he were a man of this world, and labours as hard as ever to push the bishops from their stools, and the constitution from its equilibrium. And if he will persist in haunting us—if he will “revisit thus the glimpses of the moon, making night hideous,” (as his brother senators must frequently complain)—no choice is left us. If the apparition comes, we must at least speak to it—we must do our best to chase it back to *its own place*: or if that cannot be, we must endeavour to deal with it as a thing of flesh and blood, capable of chastisement and immolation.

The present *appearance* of his Lordship is in the character of biographer to Locke, and editor of certain fragments and remains of that illustrious philosopher, which have never yet been presented to the world: and if this were all, it might be difficult to make him out to be a malefactor worthy either of death, or stripes, or exorcism. But it has, moreover, been his pleasure to abuse the good sense and patience of the public, by converting this biographical labour into an occasion of reviving and retailing much vapid malignity, which (unless the gentlemen of the press have grossly misrepresented him) he has been notorious for venting in the senate against the religious institutions of his country, and the persons entrusted with their administration. It must be observed, however, that in making this charge, we scorn all the

artifices of exaggeration. We do not accuse his Lordship of any prodigal expenditure of talent upon this very reprehensible object. To do him justice, it must be confessed that, in the execution of this work, he has most considerately limited himself to the same measure of display, to which he has already accustomed the world in his performances before the assembly of his peers. Whatever *gravamina* the friends of the Church may have to prefer against him, they assuredly cannot complain that he has borne them down by an overpowering weight of abused and perverted ability. From all uneasiness on this score, the perusal of a very few pages will be sufficient completely to relieve them. But however engaging his moderation in this particular may be, it can hardly be allowed to protect him from retribution. The absence of knowledge and genius may render calumny and perversion less dangerous, but can hardly make it less culpable, or give it a better title to toleration and indulgence.

The readers of this volume, whatever may be their principles, political or religious, can scarcely fail to be struck with one peculiarity in it, namely, that the biographer, all along, is ambitiously occupied in playing a feeble and poor accompaniment to the performances of the great philosopher whose life he records. The shade of Locke is to him a sort of Ajax; and from behind the sevenfold defence of that mighty name, he is content, occasionally, to deliver a pointless and impotent shaft against establishments and foundations, upon whose solid strength the powers of the champion of toleration himself would be wasted in vain; establishments, too, which, if he were now living, we are profoundly convinced the champion of toleration would have no desire to assail. We can scarcely doubt, that if Locke were at this moment among us, his views of ecclesiastical polity would have undergone a very considerable modification. He lived at a period when the elements of the constitution were still in a state of transition towards their final adjustment: he was a witness of mighty movements, to which he had himself potently assisted in giving the impulse; and his own mind, dispassionate and steady as it was, may, in some degree, have partaken of the whirl and commotion. Were he now on earth to examine the present condition of society, he would do it with a steadier and more impartial eye than could be expected in a period of vicissitude and revolution. He would, doubtless, perceive that his own principles, if they had been followed, in this nation, to their utmost latitude, would have most perniciously assisted the tendency of independent Christian communities to perpetual subdivision, and would have fearfully aggravated the evils of anarchy and disunion. His own sagacity, aided by a century's experience, would show

him the inestimable benefits conferred on the empire by a religious establishment, when combined with a system of liberal toleration, and would enable him to perceive that a National Church, although it may bristle, somewhat sternly, with creeds and confessions, may be at once the friend of intellectual freedom, and the adversary to discord and confusion. Such, we cannot but think, would be the state of mind with which he would, at this day, rise from the study of our past history, and the contemplation of our existing order; and, if so, his passionate love of truth would impel him honestly to avow the corrections which the lapse of years had applied to his original theory. Not so his noble biographer! He takes the philosopher precisely as he finds him; discards all intermediate accumulation of wisdom and experience; under the protection of his venerable authority, discharges his angry syllables against the narrowness of Churchmen, and the tyranny of Establishments; and all this just as if we were in the very midst of the crisis which ended in the achievement of an entire emancipation of conscience.

The materials for the present undertaking appear, by the author's account of them, to be tolerably copious. After the death of Locke, we are informed, his papers, correspondence, and manuscripts, came into the possession of Sir Peter King, his near relative and sole executor. They consist of the originals of many of his printed works, and of some which were never published; of his very extensive correspondence with his friends, both in England and abroad; of his journals which he kept during his travels in France and Holland; of his common-place books; and of many miscellaneous papers. All these, it seems, are now in possession of Lord King, at Ockham, whither he conjectures that they were removed in 1710. With these resources at his command, it has been his Lordship's object to present to the public an account of this great and good man which shall make him better known, as an individual, than he hitherto has been. The most authentic biography of him hitherto published is to be found in the "*Bibliothèque Choisie*" of 1716, written by Le Clerc, about twelve years after the death of his friend. In the present attempt, his Lordship informs us, the order of events, and, in part, the narrative of Le Clerc has been followed; and he has endeavoured, from the letters and memorials which still remain, to make Locke, as far as possible, his own biographer.

From the friends of freedom his Lordship anticipates a cordial welcome to his undertaking. They will be anxious, he doubts not, to know more of one who so effectually promoted the general improvement of mankind; and they will learn with pleasure that his character was as pure and exalted as his talents were great

and useful. There is another class, however, toward whom his Lordship looks with very different feelings; miscreants, "who would keep mankind in a perpetual state of pupillage;" wizards, who would once more call up from the deep the accursed phantom of Passive Obedience, and would deliver us over, bound hand and foot, to the double tyranny of Church and State. Wretches like these can feel no admiration for the champion of reason and truth; and from them he can neither hope, nor, we suppose, desire, either approbation or favour, in his present design.*

Our readers will, probably, imagine the dismay with which we at first perused this denunciation! Steeped as we are, to the very lips, in illiberal prejudice—the notorious adversaries of reason and truth—the advocates of slavish obedience and established abuse—the sworn opponents of all freedom and improvement—our conscience, for a time, remonstrated against our rashly venturing upon any notice whatever of a work, which we are so utterly unfit to estimate and so unworthy to approach! Nevertheless, the spirit of hardened and shameless bigotry has, somehow or other, at last, prevailed: we feel it, like Pantagruel, at our very fingers' ends: and in desperate defiance of the scowls of whiggery and liberalism, "in all their dressings, titles, characts, forms," we proceed to a brief review of the life of this eminent man, as given by his Lordship, in order that we may enable our readers to judge of his qualifications for the office of an impartial biographer, or a speculator on important questions of constitutional history.

It appears then that John Locke was born at Wrington, in Somersetshire, in 1632. His father was a gentleman of moderate landed property, attached to the parliamentary faction, whom he served as a captain in their army, during the civil wars. Of Locke's boyhood little is known, except that he was educated at Westminster school, from which he was transferred as a student to Christchurch, Oxford. The University seems to have had but little of his respect or gratitude; and his biographer takes care to inform us, that he was infinitely more indebted to himself than to his instructors. But if Oxford did nothing else for him, it, at least, gave him learned leisure, and an opportunity of intercourse with inquiring and intelligent men, whose society and conversation originally suggested to him the design of his greatest work. His first performance, however, was of a political nature, and, strange as it may seem, was an answer to a writer who denied the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in matters of religion!

* See Preface.

This work was written towards the end of 1660, but was never published. We cannot but regret that it is not published now. The interest which belongs to questions of that class has recently been revived; and, besides, it would be profoundly instructive to contemplate the arguments by which Locke, of all men in the world, proposed to assert the authority of the state in ecclesiastical concerns. Since, however, this rational curiosity cannot be fully gratified, we must be duly thankful to Lord King for what he has been pleased to do for us; and we, accordingly, present our readers with the following fragments of this unpublished composition, the only specimens with which his Lordship has thought fit to furnish us:—

“ ‘ Question:—Whether the civil magistrate may lawfully impose and determine the use of indifferent things in reference to Religious Worship?’

“ In the preface, the author thus expresses himself, ‘ As for myself, there is no one can have a greater respect and veneration for authority than I. I no sooner perceived myself in the world, but I found myself in a storm, which has lasted almost hitherto, and therefore cannot but entertain the approaches of a calm with the greatest joy and satisfaction; and this, methinks, obliges me both in duty and gratitude to endeavour the continuance of such a blessing by disposing men’s minds to obedience to that government, which has brought with it the quiet settlement which even our giddy folly had put beyond the reach not only of our contrivance but hopes; and I would, men would be persuaded to be so kind to their religion, their country and themselves, as not to hazard again, the substantial blessings of peace and settlement in an over zealous contention about things which they themselves confess to be little, and at most are but indifferent.

* * * * *

But since I find that a general freedom is but a general bondage, that the popular assertors of public liberty are the greatest ingrossers of it too, and not unfitly called its keepers, I know not whether experience would not give us some reason to think, that were the part of freedom contended for by our author generally indulged in England, it would prove only a liberty for contention, censure and persecution.

* * * * *

I have not therefore the same apprehension of liberty that some have, or can think the benefits of it to consist in a liberty for men, at pleasure, to adopt themselves children of God, and from thence assume a title to inheritances here, and proclaim themselves heirs of the world, nor a liberty for ambitious men to pull down well-framed constitutions, that out of the ruins they may build themselves fortunes; not a liberty to be Christians so as not to be subjects. All the freedom I can wish my country or myself, is to enjoy the protection of those laws which the prudence and providence of our ancestors established, and the happy return of His Majesty has restored.”—pp. 8, 9.

Nothing can be more admirable than the good sense, and good feeling of these sentences. Nothing can be more striking than the contrast in which they stand to certain sentiments of the same writer, as recorded in other papers of his, printed in this work, and which will presently be laid before our readers. Seldom has this distinguished master of thinking given utterance to anything which more fully entitles his memory to honour and veneration. It is to be regretted that he should have receded so far from the wisdom and moderation which dictated these golden words. To his biographer, doubtless, they must appear to be little better than despicable crudities, the produce of a mind which had, as yet, but imperfectly assimilated the elements which it had taken into its system. And he is accordingly anxious to guard his readers against the infection of the pernicious servility which at this time must have predominated in the author's moral constitution, and from which he afterwards so happily and completely recovered. His Lordship assures us that the *Treatise* inclines too decidedly towards the side of authority; "that the author in his desire to avoid the tyranny of the saints, which he seems no less to have dreaded than that of the men of the sword, had overlooked those other and more lasting evils which have almost always attended the return of exiled monarchs." And that the safety of the public may be quite effectually provided for, he administers the following antidote to the poisonous dose of loyalty which had just preceded:

"The circumstances of the times, and the altered policy of the Government towards the Presbyterian party, prevented the publication of the tract to which the preface belonged, from which the above extracts are taken. The high Church party felt their strength in the new Parliament, and the attainment of religious peace by the means of comprehension and concession, was no longer the object of the dominant faction. The Church party now, in their turn, determined to exert their power with far greater rigour than had been shown towards them by the Presbyterians when in power, and now resolved, in the fulness of victory, to exclude all those who differed from them, whether in things essential, or in things indifferent, but at all events, to exclude, to punish, and to appropriate."—p. 9.

Now this is precisely the sort of sally which is apt to bring on one of those fits to which we have above confessed ourselves to be occasionally subject. It produces an exceedingly troublesome insurrection of blood and spirits to hear it affirmed, that the moderation of Presbyterians may be advantageously compared with that of Churchmen;—the moderation of Presbyterians, who ejected the faithful clergy from their benefices by the thousand;—of Presbyterians, who were deaf to the voice of Milton himself,

when he pleaded, in words which will never die, for the sacred freedom of thought and utterance;—of Presbyterians, who, if their intolerance had not been forcibly overruled, would have written the canons of their spiritual regimen in blood;—of Presbyterians, who vaunted their own holy discipline to be the very sceptre of Christ's dominion, and kings and magistrates the vassals and executioners of the Church! And, then, how is it possible for persons, whose temperament is in the slightest degree sensitive and irritable, to preserve their composure when they hear it imputed to the Church party that they were guilty of appropriation?—Appropriation of what?—Why, of the possessions which had been torn from the Church by the harpy talons of fanaticism and rebellion!

To enlighten the noble Lord on these matters would be a vain attempt; he seems to be under some unhappy influence, resembling a judicial incapacity either for perceiving the truth, or for making any just and righteous use of it, whenever that splendid nuisance the National Church is brought under consideration. It may, possibly, however, afford some entertainment and instruction to our readers, to present them with a picture of that Presbyterianism, whose clemency appears so engaging to his Lordship, when contrasted with the atrocious bigotry of the prelates,—a picture, too, executed by one of the prime artists of the day. The following is an extract from a discourse delivered before the House of Commons, on the 26th May, 1646, by the Rev. Thomas Case, with the title of “*Spiritual Whoredom:*” and we insert it, because it appears to us extremely important that, whenever an attempt is made to gibbet the enormities of the Church, the memory of our countrymen should be a little refreshed; and that they should be invited, for a moment, to contemplate that model of liberality, which is to put to shame the tyranny of the Establishment.

“To you, honorable and noble patriots, I would humbly move that you would exert that power and authority which God hath given you, to the punishing and suppressing the adulteries and whoredoms of the land, which do stare heaven and earth in the face, and do provoke the jealousy of God, even to give England a bill of divorce, to put us away Oh that the spirit of Phineas may come upon you, that you may sheath your sword in the bowels of those monstrous whoredoms of all sorts, corporeal and spiritual, which are committed in the sight of all Israel, yea in the sight of all the Churches round about us, that the blessing of Phineas may come upon you and the plague may be stayed! Doth not indeed the punishing and suppressing spiritual whoredoms against God,—idolatry, heresy, blasphemy, and the rest,—doth it not belong unto you, as well as the punishment of bodily whoredoms, theft, murder, &c. &c. Doth it indeed belong to you only to look to the civil

peace, and to let religion, truth, and the worship of God, stand or fall to their own master? Fight God, fight Devil, fight Christ, fight Anti-christ! Catch, that catch can! You have nothing to do but to stand by, and look on! Say so, then. Speak out. Publish it in your declarations to the world; and let the people of England know,—that it is the right and liberty to which the subjects of England are born, that every man hold what he please, and publish and preach what he holds; that it is the birthright (as some would have it) of the free-born people of England, every man to worship God according to his own conscience, and to be of what religion his own conscience shall dictate! —Do so, and see, fathers and brethren, how long your *CIVIL PEACE* will secure you when religion is destroyed; how long it will be, ere your *CIVIL PEACE* will be turned into *CIVIL WAR*! For, no doubt, if this once be granted them, but they may in good time come to know also—(there be they that are instructing them in these principles too)—that it is their birthright to be freed from the power of parliaments, and from the power of kings; and to take up arms against both, when they shall not vote according to their humours. Liberty of conscience, falsely so called, may, in good time, improve itself into liberty of estates, liberty of houses, and liberty of wives, and, in a word, liberty of perdition both to souls and bodies! Prevent the further departure of the land from God, by keeping out seducers,—those seducing, malignant, popish, prelatical priests, whom you have cast out, who have been one great cause of the apostasy of England. The sins of the teachers have been the teachers of sin. They are the men who, with Hananiah and Zedekiah, have taught rebellion against the Lord. I call heaven and earth to witness this day, that if ye suffer them to recover their stations again,—or, whoever of you shall, for favour, for reward, relation, or any other respects whatsoever, use your interest to re-invest them into their places, you destroy what ye have builded, and will be found transgressors, and translate the blood of poor souls upon your heads!”*

It would, probably, be no difficult matter to fill a volume with extracts of a similar complexion. And we have produced this specimen with the expectation that it may, possibly, engage our readers in the amusing pastime, of endeavouring to imagine the state of those intellectuals, which can find, in the history of the Genevan discipline, any occasion of exulting over the intolerance and asperity of our Episcopal Establishment!

It appears that about this period of his life, Locke seriously addicted himself to the study of medicine; whether with any view to it as a profession, is uncertain. His attainments, however, were such as to win the respect and confidence of Sydenham; and the pursuit has been regarded by Dugald Stewart as a preparation for his metaphysical researches decidedly more advantageous than the study of the exacter sciences. In 1665 he went out in the character of secretary, with Sir Walter Vane, Envoy to the

* See Nichols's *Arm. and Calv.*

Electors of Brandenburg, during the first Dutch war; which gives occasion to the insertion of several of his letters from Cleve, written for the most part in a sportive and facetious vein. We produce the following, almost at random, as an entertaining specimen of Locke's merriment, at this period of his life:—

“ But to leave the good-natured Catholics, and to give you a little account of our brethren the Calvinists, that differ very little from our English Presbyterians. I met lately, accidentally, with a young sucking divine, that thought himself no small champion; who, as if he had been some knight-errant, bound by oath to bid battle to all comers, first accosted me in courteous voice; but the customary salute being over, I found myself assaulted most furiously, and heavy loads of arguments fell upon me. I, that expected no such thing, was fain to guard myself under the trusty broad shield of ignorance, and only now and then returned a blow by way of inquiry; and by this Parthian way of flying, defended myself till passion and want of breath had made him weary, and so we came to an accommodation; though, had he had lungs enough, and I no other use of my ears, the combat might have lasted (if that may be called a combat, *ubi tu cædes ego rapulo tantum*) as long as the wars of Troy, and the end of all had been like that, nothing but some rubbish of divinity, as useless and incoherent as the ruins the Greeks left behind them. This was a probationer in theology, and, I believe, (to keep still to my errantry,) they are bound to show their prowess with some valiant unknown, before they can be dubbed, and receive the dignity of the order. I cannot imagine why else he should set upon me, a poor innocent wight, who thought nothing of a combat, and desired to be peaceable, and was too far from my own dunghill to be quarrelling; but, it is no matter, there were no wounds made but in Priscian's head, who suffers much in this country. This provocation I have sufficiently revenged upon one of their church, our landlord, who is wont sometimes to germanize, and to be a little too much of the creature. These frailties I threaten him to discover to his pastor, who will be sure to rebuke him (but sparing his name) the next Sunday from the pulpit, and severely chastise the liberty of his cups; thus I sew up the good man's mouth, because the other gaped too much, and made him as much bear my tongue as I was punished with the other's. But for all this, he will sometimes drink himself into a defiance of divines and discipline, and hearken only to Bacchus's inspirations. You must not expect any thing remarkable from me all the following week, for I have spent it in getting a pair of gloves, and think too, I have had a quick despatch: you will, perhaps, wonder at it, and think I talk like a traveller; but I will give you the particulars of the business. Three days were spent in finding out a Glover, for though I can walk all the town over in less than an hour, yet their shops are so contrived, as if they were designed to conceal, not expose their wares; and though you may think it strange, yet, methinks, it is very well done, and 'tis a becoming modesty to conceal that which they have reason enough to be ashamed of. But to proceed; the two next days were spent in drawing them on, the right hand glove,

(or as they call them here, hand shoe,) Thursday, and the left hand, Friday; and I'll promise you this was two good day's work, and little enough to bring them to fit my hands and to consent to be fellows, which, after all, they are so far from, that when they are on, I am always afraid my hands should go to cuffs, one with another, they so disagree: Saturday we concluded on the price, computed, and changed our money, for it requires a great deal of arithmetic, and a great deal of brass, to pay twenty-eight stivers and seven doits; but, God be thanked, they are all well fitted with counters for reckoning; for their money is good for nothing else, and I am poor here with my pockets full of it. I wondered at first why the market people brought their wares in little carts, drawn by one horse, till I found it necessary to carry home the price of them; for a horse-load of turnips, would be two horse-load of money. A pair of shoes cannot be got under half a year: I lately saw the cow killed, out of whose hide I hope to have my next pair. The first thing after they are married here is to bespeak the child's coat, and truly the bridegroom must be a bungler that gets not the child before the mantle be made; for it is far easier here to have a man made than a suit."—pp. 15—17.

In 1666 an endeavour was made to tempt him into the clerical profession, by an offer of interest sufficiently powerful to secure him considerable preferment in Ireland. His answer to this proposal is given by Lord King, as exhibiting the "*conscientious scruples*" which withheld him from accepting it. With the most entire veneration for Locke's integrity, we must, nevertheless, plainly avow, that, to our apprehension, the document in question exhibits no *scruples* but those of a man chiefly intent on his own honour and reputation—fearful of engaging in a mode of life, which, after all, might not suit him, but from which there would be no retreat—and entirely destitute of any profound sentiment of attachment for the sacred profession. However, let our readers judge for themselves. The following is his reply:—

"The proposals, no question, are very considerable; but consider, a man's affairs and whole course of his life are not to be changed in a moment, and that one is not made fit for a calling, and that in a day. I believe you think me too proud to undertake any thing wherein I should acquit myself but unworthily. I am sure I cannot content myself with being undermost, possibly the middlemost of my profession; and you will allow, on consideration, care is to be taken not to engage in a calling, wherein, if one chance to be a bungler, there is no retreat. A person must needs be very quick or inconsiderate, that can on a sudden resolve to transplant himself from a country, affairs and study, upon probability, which, though your interest there may make you look on as certain, yet my want of fitness may probably disappoint; for certainly something is required on my side. It is not enough for such places to be in orders, and I cannot think that preferment of that nature should be thrown upon a man who has never given any proof of himself, nor ever tried the pulpit. Would you not think it a stranger question, if I

were to ask you whether I must be first in these places or in orders ; and yet, if you will consider with me, it will not, perhaps, seem altogether irrational ; for should I put myself into orders, and, by the meanness of my abilities, grow unworthy such expectations, (for you do not think that divines are now made, as formerly, by inspiration and on a sudden, nor learning caused by laying on of hands,) I unavoidably lose all my former study, and put myself into a calling that will not leave me. Were it a profession from whence there were any return—and that, amongst all the occurrences of life, may be very convenient—you would find me with as great forwardness to embrace your proposals, as I now acknowledge them with gratitude. The same considerations have made me a long time reject very advantageous offers of several very considerable friends in England. I cannot now be forward to disgrace you, or any one else, by being lifted into a place which, perhaps, I cannot fill, and from whence there is no descending without tumbling. If any shame or misfortune attend me, it shall be only mine ; and if I am covetous of any good fortune, 'tis that one I love may share it with me. But your great obligation is not the less, because I am not in a condition to receive the effect of it. I return all manner of acknowledgement due to so great a favour, and shall watch all occasions to let you see how sensible I am of it, and to assure you I am, &c. &c.”—pp. 27, 28.

Thus it appears that Locke had a narrow escape from Medicine, Diplomacy and the Church, to the unspeakable relief and satisfaction of his biographer ! It is extremely diverting to observe the peculiar animation of his Lordship's gratitude for the deliverance of his hero from the degradation of being connected with the last of these professions. The clerical function, indeed, he confesses might have offered some temptations and advantages. It might have placed within the reach of Locke the reputation of a profound divine ; and, further, it would have given him an opportunity of edifying his brethren by a signal example of the “ moderation, candour and Christian charity, *so rare in a high Churchman*.” But then, on the other hand, there would have been one disastrous and inevitable consequence of his taking orders ; it would have bound him to a pursuit fatal to the development of the intellectual powers, and thus would have destroyed all hope of his ever becoming a great philosopher, and extending, as he has done, the boundaries of human knowledge !* Had Locke been a parson, (thinks Lord King to himself,) where would have been the *Essay on the Human Understanding*, or the *Letters on Toleration* ?

In the same year, 1666, an accident introduced him to the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, then Lord Ashley, an acquaintance which time ripened into the closest intimacy. We must confess that his friendship with this nobleman is, to us, the most in-

explicable circumstance of his life. It is a circumstance which one never would have looked for in the life of any individual whose moral sensibilities were peculiarly exalted. Whatever may have been the engaging qualities of Shaftesbury, it will scarcely be questioned that he was a person of most licentious habits and principles, and utterly devoid of political integrity or personal virtue. Let us hear the description of him by the historian of the Constitution :

"It had been the great error," says Mr. Hallam, "of those who withstood the arbitrary counsels of Charles II., to admit into their closest confidence, and, in a considerable degree, to the management of their party, a man so destitute of all honest principles as the Earl of Shaftesbury. Under his contaminating influence their passions became more untractable, their connections more seditious, their schemes more revolutionary, and they broke away more and more from the line of national opinion, till a fatal reaction involved themselves in ruin, and exposed the cause of liberty to the most eminent peril. The countenance and support of Shaftesbury brought forward that unconstitutional and most impolitic scheme, the Duke of Monmouth's succession. There could hardly be a greater insult to the nation, used to respect its hereditary line of kings, than to set up the bastard of a prostitute, without the least pretence of personal excellence or public services, against a princess of known virtue, and attachment to the Protestant religion."*

Such was "the patron and friend to whom Locke continued, during the whole course of his life, through good report and evil report, steadily attached. Nor will it be denied," continues Lord King, "that this steadiness of attachment was alike honourable to both!"† Charles Fox's view of the matter is not quite so indulgent. He evidently considers the union of Locke with a profligate like Shaftesbury as a phenomenon which requires explanation and apology. The splendid qualities of the statesman, he presumes, must have *caught* the philosopher; and his partiality must have blinded him to the indifference with which his friend espoused either monarchical, arbitrary, or republican principles, as best suited his ambition!‡ To Lord King all such apology appears to be quite superfluous. With the personal vices or the political perfidy of Shaftesbury, Locke, we are reminded, had no concern. When his patron was persecuting the Papists, and "hallooing on the perjured witnesses through all the infamy of the popish plot,"§ the champion of liberality and truth was on the continent for his health, and remained there during the heat and fury excited by the discovery of this fictitious conspiracy. He therefore is placed above all suspicion of assisting to "excite the blind No Popery rage of those disgraceful times." All this

* Vol. ii. pp. 300, 301.

† Fox, quoted pp. 30, 31.

‡ Page 30.

§ Hallam.

may be true, and all this probably is true. No one, we believe, ever imagined that Locke had, personally, any participation in the wickedness of his associate. But still it is absolutely astonishing that he should be able to endure any connection with such a man; that the firm friend of liberty, and the inflexible lover of truth and virtue, should live in close and unbroken intimacy with one who has no regard for virtue, or truth, or liberty; that an individual of distinguished probity and worth should tolerate even the acquaintance of a man, of whom it is scarcely too much to say, that he deserved to be proscribed from all reputable society; in short, that the Abithophel of his day should have been the chosen friend of Locke!

The year 1675 was remarkable for a political *autô da fê*, in which the crown of martyrdom was conferred, not on Locke himself, but on one of his compositions. In that year an attempt was made to pass what was called the Bishop's Test Bill, memorable for the unexampled bottom and length of wind exhibited by the debaters on the question. The chief object of this bill was to exact from all persons in office, civil and military, an "*abhorrence*," on oath, of the principle, that it is lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the King, or to attempt any alteration of the constitution either in Church or State. Never, we believe, in the annals of legislation, was any measure the subject of such a tough and heady contest. Five mortal days of conflict preceded its committal. Sixteen or seventeen more were consumed afterwards, the sittings continuing after till eight or nine in the evening, and sometimes till midnight. It was finally lost by a prorogation, which was rendered indispensable by the tempestuous violence of the two Houses against each other, upon a question of privilege, which arose, accidentally, before the Bill could be reported from the Committee to the House. Locke's history of this affair appears in his works, under the title of "A Letter from a Person of Quality to his Friend in the Country," and may be considered as substantially the work of Shaftesbury, who, not being much in the habit of composition, *instructed* Locke to *instruct* his "friend in the country, and thus to open the eyes of the public respecting the secret views of the court and the hierarchy. The performance was thought worthy of being made a holocaust, at which the common hangman was to be the officiating priest; and the sacrifice was celebrated accordingly, by order of the House of Lords.

We have recently turned over this devoted publication; and one portion of it, we must confess, afforded us no inconsiderable diversion. It occurred to us, on perusing it, that if burnt-offerings of the above description were now in fashion, it would

be difficult to see how the Whigs of the present day could well decline an annual commemoration of this autô-da-fê, although it was originally celebrated by command of the Tories. In the early part of his Letter the writer reports a conversation which he had with Lord Shaftesbury respecting the proposed Declaration of Indulgence, of 1672; in which he represents himself as asking his Lordship what was meant by that Declaration, of which he was notoriously the decided advocate; "for to me," says he, "it seemed to assume a power to repeal and suspend all our laws, to destroy the Church, to overthrow the Protestant religion, and to tolerate Popery!" To this his Lordship replies in a tone of considerable indignation. He protests that he wonders any objection should be started against a measure so obviously unexceptionable. He alleges that a similar power had been exercised by Queen Elizabeth; that in the reign of his present Majesty the execution of the two Acts of Navigation and Trade had been suspended by the Crown, and yet no clamour was ever heard; that a government could not be supposed, whether monarchical or otherwise, without a standing, supreme, executive power, fully enabled to mitigate, or wholly to suspend, any penal law, in the intervals of the legislative power; and that it would be for that power, on their re-assembling, to deliberate whether the law should be restored to its execution, and to express their sense to the Crown accordingly. He added, at considerable length, that he held such a mitigation of the law to be necessary to the preservation of the protestant religion; since the execution of a blind and rigid conformity, in the hands of a despotic and popish monarch, might become eventually a formidable instrument for the introduction and perpetuation of popery. He added, however, that he was always of opinion that the papists ought to have no other pressure laid upon them, but that of being made *incapable of office, court, or arms*, and the payment of so much money as might fairly be sufficient to purchase their immunity from offices to which Protestants still remained liable! With these admirable reasonings the writer professes himself to be entirely convinced; and he, accordingly, gives in his adhesion to the Declaration by affirming that he could have wished it a longer continuance and a better reception than it had.

Here, then, we have no less a personage than Locke, expressing his full acquiescence in the necessity of a power in the Crown to dispense with any penal law, during the intervals of the legislative authority, whatever the length of those intervals might be; such suspension to be terminated only by the acquiescence of the Crown in the expressed opinion of the rest of the legislature. We find him, moreover, with great composure assenting to the doctrine, that Papists may be excluded from military and

civil offices, and actually made to pay for their exclusion! Now only think of constitutional heresies like these, from the great champion of civil and religious liberty! If his letter found no mercy at the hands of Tories at that day, why should it find any mercy at the hand of the Whigs of the present day? Why should not the piacular fires now be lighted by the patriots, if it were only to purify the memory of their great master from the foulness of this blot? We are impelled to offer this suggestion solely by our tender regard for the honour and consistency of those friends of mankind, those men of noble hearts and capacious understandings! But for this consideration, we should have been quite content, for our part, to say, simply, that, at this period, the political opinions of Locke, on a variety of important questions, were not perhaps completely formed; and to beg that an indulgent construction might be extended to many other able and honest men, who retained longer the views and sentiments, which were once adopted, or at least admired, by this great worthy.

In 1675 Locke was compelled by ill-health to visit the continent. His residence for several years was entirely in France; and during that time he kept a regular journal, from which copious extracts are given by his biographer, mostly in an abridged form, together with notes and dissertations on various subjects, collected together at the end of the extracts. The Journal indicates a keen, vigilant, insatiable curiosity, which ranged over the whole surface of life, and rejected nothing which was connected with convenience or utility. In other respects there is little in it to indicate the workings of a very superior or penetrating intellect; and one remark there is in this collection which seems to indicate but sorry qualifications for the office of a national reformer. Having observed that sumptuary laws, when the age inclines to luxury, do not restrain, but rather increase the evil, and having referred to Tacitus in confirmation of that profound apophthegm, he propounds, as the best preventive measure against prodigality, that no landed men should be obliged to pay any book-debt to tradesmen!*

It is almost incredible that the monstrous absurdity of such a substitute for sumptuary enactments, should not have forced itself upon so acute a mind! One would imagine that powers vastly inferior to Locke's must have discerned that a measure like this would, probably, do nothing but give a tenfold security to all book-debts whatever, by instantly converting them, like those of the gambling table, into debts of honour, and would thus, eventually, produce a measureless aggravation of the evil.

We can very easily imagine the keen delight with which his Lordship must have discovered in the Journal of Locke, "the

* Page 74.

following *little incident* to an Episcopal Visitation, in the century before last." We can fancy him chuckling, with intensity of glee, on finding a story of a parson getting drunk and quarrelling with his churchwardens, among the papers of his illustrious relative! We make a point of giving this "*little incident*," as a specimen of the diet, wherewith it is his Lordship's custom to comfort, and keep in good condition, his virtuous abhorrence of religious establishments, and of all, who, under their auspices, have sold themselves to work iniquity.

"Monday, August 2, 1680. From Salisbury to Basingstoke, thirty miles; where being a visitation of the Bishops, Mr. Carter, who found it a long time now to the next presentment, sat drinking with his churchwardens next chamber to me, and after drink had well warmed them, a case of doctrine or discipline engaged them in a quarrel, which broke out into defiance and cuffs, and about midnight raised the house to keep the peace, but so fruitlessly, that between skirmishing, parleys, and loud defiances, the whole night was spent in noise and tumult, of which I had more than sleep. In the morning when I rose all was quiet, and the parson a-bed, where he was like to be kept past his ale and sleep, his gown having more of the honour of a tattered colours than a divinity robe!"—p. 133.

Another extract from the same Journal gives occasion to a very curious exhibition of the profound sagacity of the biographer, sharpened as it is by his ludicrous anxiety to place his hero far above all suspicion of the frailties and obliquities incident to ordinary minds.

"June 17th, 1679. OPINION. A thinking and considerate man cannot believe any thing with a firmer assent than is due to the evidence and validity of those reasons on which it is founded; yet the greatest part of men, not examining the probability of things in their own nature, nor the testimony of those who are their vouchers, take the common belief or opinion of those of their country, neighbourhood, or party, to be proof enough, and so believe, as well as live by fashion and example; and these men are zealous Turks as well as Christians.' It is evident from these notes, that the writer partook not of the popular phrensy, which had so long prevailed in England, and had not as yet entirely subsided."—p. 136.

Now—would any one believe it?—his Lordship contrives to discover, in these very general reflections, conclusive demonstration that Locke had nothing on earth to do with the affair of the Popish plot! "It is evident," he says, "that the writer partook not of the popular phrensy which had so long prevailed in England, and has not yet entirely subsided." Certain abstract maxims are found among the papers of a philosopher, indicating that he was sensible of the extreme laxity with which opinions are frequently adopted; and, *therefore*, he *must* have been himself

exempt from the influence of every pernicious delusion which, in his own time, may have bewildered or maddened his country. Such is the profound logic, and such the consummate knowledge of human nature, with which his Lordship comes forward to record and to display the excellencies of one of the greatest masters of thinking the world ever produced! That Locke was actually untouched by the epidemic insanity there seems no reason to question. But to infer this from his private meditations on the facility with which opinions are often received and adopted, is, really, about as reasonable as it would be to attempt extorting the same conclusion from his metaphysical speculations on duration and space.

The life of Locke, from this period, is so connected with the history of the state as to impose on Lord King the necessity of giving a "short outline of the political transactions which ended in the triumph of the court, and enabled Charles II. to trample on the liberties of the country." It likewise seems to impose on him the necessity of denouncing the National Church, and lamenting that she should have "made herself the willing handmaid of a bloody government." The delinquency which calls forth this exterminating censure is the composition of the form of prayer, (the Commination, as Lord King in the plenitude of his wit and his indignation is pleased to term it,) which was read, together with the King's declaration, on the 9th of September, 1683, and which, his Lordship presumes, was "the pious production of the heads of the Church at that time; though, from its tone and spirit, it should seem to have proceeded rather from the mouth of the Mufti and the Ulema than from the bishops and rulers of the Christian Church of England." He accordingly prints, for the benefit of his readers, this devotional manifesto at full length, in order that Englishmen may clearly perceive that their national priesthood has always been the same—always a band of flagitious conspirators against the freedom and dignity of their native land—and that we may learn to cherish, more ardently than ever, those liberties which have escaped submersion, even with the mill-stone of a venal and corrupt hierarchy suspended about their neck!

To certain of the *atrocities* of this composition we are ourselves not altogether insensible. It is chargeable, undoubtedly, with grievous transgressions against all good taste. It is drawn up in a style of verbose exaggeration, very different from that tone of simple and earnest solemnity which becomes an address to the Almighty. But, then, our *unassisted* capacities would never have enabled us to discern the deep moral infamy which the refined perceptions of the noble patriot have discovered in this performance. For what is the real case? A conspiracy is

supposed to have been detected against the person of the King, and the ecclesiastical authorities accordingly receive orders to draw up a form of public thanksgiving for his providential deliverance. What, then, were they to do? Were they to take upon themselves to pronounce that there had been no plot? or were they to declare that they could not suffer a single church to be opened for the purpose of national thanksgiving, until the trial and conviction of the traitors had established, beyond all possibility of doubt, the reality of a murderous and treasonable design? And if this was rather too much to be expected, in what manner were they to execute the task which their office required of them? What other topics could they select than those which we actually find introduced into this intolerable formulary? What could they do but express the national gratitude for the deliverance of the King, pray for his future preservation from the treachery of wicked ungodly men, and desire that obdurate hearts might be softened into docility, and the stiff neck and the iron sinew bowed to the gentle yoke of the Divine Law? Whether all this was done in the best manner possible may reasonably be questioned—and we, accordingly, are willing to surrender this performance to the tender mercies of the rhetoricians. But what should be the gratitude of Englishmen to the vigilant patriotism which has now detected the deeper abominations of this composition? which has discovered in it the mark and number of that monster of iniquity the National Hierarchy—that prostitute handmaid of a sanguinary despotism—that rival of the most ferocious and stupid fanaticism upon earth!

The most remarkable occurrence in the life of Locke is his removal from Christ Church; and what tongue can describe, what imagination can paint, the rapture with which the biographer must have brooded over this passage of the history? One of the most illustrious worthies of England is placed under prescription by the jealousy of a selfish and heartless tyrant; and,—blissful coincidence!—a churchman appears among the instruments of this mean and cowardly oppression—and not only a churchman, but the president of a college—not only the president of a college, but one of the right reverend the bench of bishops. Here is enough, in this one damning fact, to feed fat his Lordship's noble hatred for tyranny and priestcraft; and our readers may judge, from the following brief account of the transaction, how much this generous passion must have been exalted and invigorated by the luxury.

Locke, it appears, then a student of Christ Church, was resident on the continent, whither he had judged it prudent to retire, soon after the flight of his friend Lord Shaftesbury. An unfounded

suspicion that he was the author of some offensive political pamphlet prompted the King to insist on his removal. A letter is accordingly addressed by Lord Sunderland to Dr. Fell, then dean of Christ Church and Bishop of Oxford, commanding him, on the part of the King, to remove Locke from his studentship. The bishop immediately replies, that he had long regarded Locke with a suspicious eye; but that he was such a "master of taciturnity and passion," that he had never been "heard to speak a word against, or so much as concerning, the government;" and that, "although very frequently, both in public and in private, discourses had been purposely introduced, to the disparagement of his master the Earl of Shaftesbury, his party and designs, he could never be provoked to take any notice, or discover the least concern." The bishop proceeds to say that he will summon Locke from abroad, with a view to immediate proceedings against him; but that if this mode be not deemed speedy enough, he shall be immediately removed, if his Majesty, the founder and visitor of the College, shall be pleased to send his royal commands to that effect. A formal order is forthwith transmitted from Whitehall, dated the 11th of November, 1684, and on the 16th of the same month the bishop writes to Lord Sunderland to announce his removal. We subjoin the commentary of Lord King on this hateful proceeding, without any disposition whatever to question the substantial justness of it. The Church of England would, indeed, be in a condition miserable beyond all names of contempt and ignominy, if her honours were to stand or fall with the character of every individual who may have occasionally disgraced her by servility and baseness!

"The meanness of Fell's (the Bishop of Oxford) conduct was certainly never exceeded, seeing by his own unblushing confession, that he had been instrumental in laying snares for the destruction of one who was a member of his own college, and to whom he stood therefore in the relation of a father; and of one with whom he had lived in habits of friendship during the time of his prosperity, as a proof of which one or two amongst many letters from the same hand, and in the same phrases of friendship, are here inserted.

"TO HIS ESTEEMED FRIEND MR. JOHN LOCKE, AT THANET HOUSE, IN
ALDERSGATE STREET.

" "SIR,

June 1, 1680.

" "You are not to excuse your address by letter as if it could give a trouble to me; I assure you I have that respect and friendship for you, that I should have been glad to have heard from you, although you had no other business than to let me know you were in health, especially since you left this place in such a condition as might make your friends apprehensive for you. As to the proposal concerning books, we have two

years since quit our hands of our stock to men of trade, so that the interest is now with those we dealt with. I have spoke this morning with one of them, Mr. Pitt, who within few days will be in London, and will there attend upon you; he seems to approve of the terms offered, so that I presume he will close with them. I have no more to add at present, but desire that when you write to Monsieur Justell, you would represent the esteem I have for him. Let me also desire you to be assured that I am your affectionate friend,

“ ‘ JOHN OKON.’ ”

“ FROM THE SAME AFFECTIONATE FRIEND, OF AN EARLIER DATE,
INDORSED 1675.

“ ‘ SIR,

Nov. 8.

“ ‘ I AM sorry for the occasion of your voyage, but wish you success in it, and by no means expect you should add to it, by a journey hither upon the score of ceremony. It is that which I by no means expect from my friends, and I hope the rest of the Chapter are of the same mind. When we have occasion to meet next, I shall propose your concern to the company, and with my affectionate remembrances, remain, Sir, your assured friend and servant,

“ ‘ J. FELL.’ ”

“ And many other letters directed to the worthily esteemed John Locke, Esq. at Thanet House, in Aldersgate Street.”—pp. 152-3.

In our estimate of this transaction, however, it is but equitable (as Lord King allows) to keep in mind that, in those days, the rights of visitors were much more indefinite than they are now. The king being, in the eye of the law, immortal, was then, probably, regarded as strictly representing the person of every royal founder, and as entitled to do, without the formality of legal process, what might be done by the founder himself were he actually living: and the founder of a college, it was possibly imagined, might, during his life, in a summary manner, remove from his own foundation, any individual whom he might consider unworthy of a continuance of his bounty. These notions have been corrected by subsequent decisions: and it is now settled that the king, like every other visitor, is bound to give the party accused an opportunity of being heard, and that his visitatorial power can be executed only by the lord chancellor.* As the law was at that time understood, it would have been next to impossible for Dr. Fell to offer any effectual resistance to the royal mandate, without involving himself in proceedings from which he could anticipate no hopeful result. This consideration, however, is quite insufficient to mitigate all the disgust with which we must contemplate a dignified minister of religion perfidiously engaged

* Case of Exeter College.

in planting, as it were, steel-traps and spring-guns, for the capture and perhaps the destruction, of a man he called his friend.

We are here reminded, indeed, by Lord King, that resistance was afterwards made at Oxford, though unsuccessfully, to the power of the crown; but that the royal sportsman then aimed at much higher game than an obnoxious layman. The whole ecclesiastical order was then the object of attack; and the "blind despot on the throne ventured to break the terms of *the secret articles, offensive and defensive, so well understood, at all other times, between the parties concerned, which are inferred in the union between Church and State.*"* We produce these words, chiefly for the purpose of showing the exemplary fidelity of the noble author to his main design,—that of opening the eyes of his countrymen to the true character of our religious establishment, as one member of a desperate confederacy against the liberties of Englishmen! There is one calumny, however, in his lordship's representation, which has often been repeated, and which, even in the thousandth repetition, must never be allowed to pass unanswered: the Church is stigmatized for deferring her opposition to despotism until her own rights were formidably and directly invaded. This one circumstance is relied upon as indicating her inherent selfishness and turpitude, and as sufficient to tarnish the honours of her warfare in the cause of the Constitution. Now, the Church, we contend,—(as we have before repeatedly contended)—exhibited in this instance nothing more than an obedience to the principles which usually govern the movements of all great societies. A slight degree of oppression may be endured, rather than incur the hazard of confusion and discord; the sacrifice of an individual may be witnessed in silent indignation, or helpless terror; but when the interests and the rights of a large body of men are imminently and notoriously involved, where is the wonder, and where is the shame, of a general insurrection against the aggression? Why is the Church to be held up to scorn, for taking her stand upon the ground, and at the season, which offered the brightest hope of success, by ensuring the cordial co-operation of her own members, and the most virtuous sympathies of mankind? Turn which way they will, however, the despisers of the Church are utterly unable to escape from one truth, which, in all their shifting of positions, perpetually confronts them, namely, that the Church was conspicuously instrumental in the noble work of our deliverance. Even Lord King himself is compelled, by stress of stubborn fact, to make this express concession,—that without her assistance a second civil

* P. 154.

war, instead of a bloodless revolution, would probably have been the process through which the country must have passed to the accomplishment of her warfare, and the establishment of her freedom. The overpowering majesty of truth has here extorted praise from the mouth of an adversary, even as the God of truth once drew forth blessing from lips that were prepared to curse.

The displeasure and suspicion of the Court meanly pursued Locke in his banishment. His name was on the list of proscribed persons whose surrender was demanded of the States of Holland; and it was in 1685, during the close seclusion required by his perilous condition, that his celebrated Letter on Toleration was finished. That this was a subject which had long occupied his thoughts is apparent from a long article in his Common Place Book, concluding with the words, *Sic cogitavit J. Locke*, 1667. The work was first printed in Latin, at Tergou, and was translated into English and printed in London after the Revolution. By that "happy accident,"—as Lord King describes it,—Locke was enabled to return to his native country in the same fleet which brought over the Princess of Orange. Almost immediately afterwards, he had the offer of employment as envoy at one of the great German courts, which, however, his feeble health compelled him to decline. He made an effort for the recovery of his Studentship at Christchurch, and with that view presented a petition to King William, though, it appears, without success. The difficulties which prevented his reinstatement, Lord King tells us, are not known. Probably, the vacancy had been filled up on Locke's removal, and it would have been impossible to do him right, without inflicting severe and unmerited hardship on his successor.

The Toleration Act was among the first measures of the new government; and there is a tradition, that the terms of that act were negotiated by Locke himself, though it would seem that he was much dissatisfied with the scanty measure of concession. The scheme, however, has since been completed by the relief extended to Unitarians by the Act of Geo. III., by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; and, lastly, by the repeal of the Catholic disabilities. To render this blessed and conservatory measure for ever illustrious, the noble author informs us, in capitals, that it has confirmed "THAT JUST AND TRUE LIBERTY, THAT EQUAL AND IMPARTIAL LIBERTY, WHICH WE HAVE SO LONG STOOD IN NEED OF." From this ponderous, energetic, and immortal sentence,—(whether it be his own, or borrowed from his great relation, we know not,)—it may reasonably be concluded, that the existing scheme of religious freedom is now such as to leave even

Lord King nothing more to desire,—always excepting the demolition of the Established Church!

The Essay on the Human Understanding, as well as the Letter on Toleration, were completed during Locke's retirement in Holland; a country whose free institutions seem to have rendered it his favourite residence when absent from England. The mention of these celebrated works involves his biographer in speculation on the circumstances which may be supposed to have disciplined this independent thinker for his mighty and illustrious labours. And here (adopting the language and the views of Sir J. Mackintosh) he observes, that Locke, being educated among the English Dissenters, during the short period of their political ascendancy, early imbibed the deep piety and ardent spirit of liberty which actuated that body of men. If, however, we are to judge from those specimens of his earliest performance which we have inserted above, his experience of the revolutionary spirits of that age would seem to have impressed him rather with a dread of licentiousness than with a love of liberty, or (to use the language of Lord King) with a fear of the *tyranny of the saints, rather than that of the men of the sword*. We can, in truth, hardly imagine anything from which the peculiar temper of Locke would be more utterly abhorrent, than from the ferocious bigotry, or the presumptuous and turbulent enthusiasm, of the puritanical religionists. We cannot help suspecting that the odious reign of that coarse, unfeeling voluptuary, Charles II., did much more to develop and mature the philosopher's attachment to freedom, than the wild fanaticism of the traitors and regicides. It is further remarked by his Lordship, (still, we presume, in the language of Sir J. Mackintosh,) that by the Independent divines, who were his instructors, the philosopher was taught those principles of religious liberty which they were the first to disclose to the world. We confess that we look with utter disdain at this account of the formation and progress of Locke's opinions. The influences of Nonconformity were not needed to foster the virtues of Burleigh, or to ripen the genius of Bacon; and it would be difficult to perceive why the intellect of Locke should not have attained its full energies under the same tuition and discipline, to which England stands indebted for so many of her most illustrious names. Besides, if he derived his love of liberty from the lessons of the Independent divines, they must, assuredly, have taught him that which they had learned but very imperfectly themselves. The nature of the Congregational system, indeed, implies a large and mutual toleration of some varieties on points of discipline and doctrine *among the Independent communities*; for it is of the very essence of that scheme that churches should not be

subordinate, but co-ordinate, and without superiority. The *Independent*, as his name imports, disclaimed all *dependence* but upon Christ Jesus. The authority of all human consistories he utterly denied: and he regarded this independence as resting on a *jus divinum* of the most transcendent nature. All this at first sight seems, it is true, to involve the essential principles of religious liberty. On a closer examination, however, it must appear extremely questionable whether the system was founded on any generous and enlightened respect for the rights of conscience. It is indisputable, that the scheme of toleration, adopted by the Independents, embraced no form of discipline which was directly opposed to their own peculiar views and principles. Popery and Prelacy and Arminianism were expressly excluded from its benefits. Against these antichristian abominations the face of Independency was set like a flint. And there is every reason to believe, that if that system had been permanently triumphant, its followers would have shown themselves as profoundly versed in the arts and mysteries of persecution, as the champions of the holy discipline itself. Their merciless intolerance in New England is perfectly notorious. In that country, as Baillie complained, "there was no living even for a Presbyterian, though he should be an angel for life and doctrine." It is also well known that, in this country, they hotly lusted after that supremacy which the Presbyterians, before them, had effected. The crafty usurper, however, knew them well; and accordingly desired them to draw up a confession of faith by which they might be distinguished, and in which they could all agree; perceiving clearly that any public and binding formulary of this nature would be destructive of the very essence of Independency, and reduce it to something like a mild and manageable Presbyterianism. The Protector died before their Declaration could be completed; but the incident betrays the nature of the party, and the keen-sighted jealousy with which they were regarded by their master. If, therefore, the Independents had any love for religious liberty, it must have closely resembled the love of Jacobins or Radicals for civil liberty. It was a love, which strongly impelled them to establish for themselves a monopoly in the object of their admiration. In truth, the triumph of tolerant principles is, in all righteousness, to be mainly ascribed to the liberal and enlightened school of the Anglican writers,—to Chillingworth, to Hales, to J. Taylor, which last, as Mr. Hallam confesses, left little to be said by those who followed him. If, therefore, Locke ever did study in the school of Independency, he must still have had much to learn before he could be qualified to appear as the enlightened advocate of the rights of conscience.

We trust that our readers will perceive that these somewhat digressive observations are very far from superfluous. It is the practice with a certain class of writers to labour for the glorious purpose of bringing into contempt the Church of England, by associating with her very name the odious recollection of every impediment, which retarded the advance of our country towards the achievement of her liberties, whether civil or intellectual; and to connect with the name of non-conformity the sole praise and glory of her emancipation. The Presbyterians are extolled as models of devotion and magnanimity; the Independents as the intrepid assertors of the supremacy of private judgment; and such schools alone, we are to believe, were worthy to train, for its warfare against prejudice and tyranny, a spirit like that of Locke, which, peradventure, might have been extinguished by the poisonous or stupifying influences of the old prelatist system. All this is miserably shallow speculation. It makes one sad to hear it, when gravely propounded by thinkers of a superior order; but it excites nothing but scorn, when echoed by writers who, notwithstanding their hardihood of dogmatising, are often destitute of all solid pretensions to the dignity of thinking a single thought for themselves. And hence it is that our old symptoms of impatience were rather violently brought on by Lord King's remarks on the "murmurs of bigoted Churchmen" against the Act of Toleration. Now we would only solicit of our readers, whenever they are assailed with this species of cant, to ask themselves one simple question,—If Presbyterianism had ever become the established religion of these realms, can any mortal, removed by three degrees from downright idiotism, doubt, for a moment, that the principles of toleration would have had to encounter, from the Genevan school, an opposition beyond all comparison greater than they actually experienced from the divines of the Episcopal Church? Is it credible that they, who contended that their discipline was rigourously conformable to *the pattern in the mount*, would have failed to move heaven and earth against a system of general indulgence, if they had occupied the commanding position of a National Establishment? And, further, does there live a sane man at this day, who can seriously believe, that Independency itself, had it been invested with supremacy and power, would have fully recognised the rights of conscience without a desperate struggle? Would it have been much more indulgent in Old England than it was in New England? Would it have passively endured that Papists, and Prelatists, and Arminians, should be formally invested by the legislature with the right of speaking, writing, and worshipping, according to the dictates of their own judgment? And, above all, would it not have been

ready to exterminate the ultra-pelagianism of Socinians and Unitarians? If candour and veracity have not taken leave of the earth, no man breathing will, surely, now be found to maintain these outrageously extravagant propositions. And, if so, why, we again ask—(and why, we shall persevere in asking, so often as the absurdity may be repeated)—why is the Anglican Church to bear the exclusive obloquy of a narrow and intolerant spirit? Why is it, that, by direct assertion, or by treacherous insinuation, the hearts of the people of England are to be turned against her, as if, from generation to generation, she alone had been the rancorous and infatuated adversary of all the highest national interests, while the rest of the world was moving rapidly forward in the career of intelligence and liberality?

It is a very extraordinary assertion of Warburton, in one of his letters to Hurd, that when first the *Essay on the Understanding* appeared, it had neither followers, nor admirers, and scarcely a single approver. Its sale was almost unexampled during the fourteen years between its publication and the death of the author. In the first ten years four editions of it appeared, and three more editions in the next four years. At Cambridge it was idolized. But the prophet was not honoured in his own land! The despiser of syllogisms, the slanderer of scholastic metaphysics, the apostate from the faith of Aristotle, had, of course, but little mercy to expect from the sages of Oxford. After the *Essay* had been published some years, the “raven-down” of orthodoxy began to be ruffled. The guardians of sound knowledge and virtuous discipline assembled; they voted that “long-cut exercises” were in imminent danger of decay; and that these alarming symptoms of degeneracy could reasonably be ascribed to nothing under heaven but the new philosophy. Their deliberations accordingly assumed a very menacing and formidable aspect, though they ended in no measures of positive and substantial hostility. A curious description of their counsels and proceedings is given in the following letter to Locke from his friend Mr. Tyrrell:—(p. 192).

“MR. TYRRELL TO LOCKE.

“DEAR SIR,

April, 1704.

“IN answer to yours received by our good friend, Mr. Church, the best information I can give you concerning the forbidding the reading of your *Essay* is as follows: That in the beginning of November last, there was a meeting of the Heads of Houses then in town; it was there proposed by Dr. Mill, and seconded by Dr. Maunder, that there was a great decay of long-cut exercises in the University, which could not be attributed to any thing so much as the new philosophy which was so much read, and in particular your Book and Le Clerc's Philosophy;

against which it was offered, that a Programma should be published, forbidding all tutors to read them to their pupils. This was like, at first, to have passed, till it was opposed by some others there present, and particularly by Dr. Dunstan; who not only vindicated your Book, but said that he thought the making the Programma would do more harm than good: first, by making so much more noise abroad, as if the University went about to forbid the reading of all philosophy but that of Aristotle; next, that he thought that, instead of the end proposed, it would make young men more desirous to buy and read those books, when they were once forbid, than they were before. Then, at another meeting, their resolution upon the whole was, that upon Dr. Edwards' proposal they agreed, instead of a Programma, that all Heads of Houses should give the tutors private instructions not to read those books to their pupils, and to prevent their doing it by themselves as much as lay in their power; and yet I do not find, after all, that any such thing has been put in execution in those Colleges where I have any acquaintance, as particularly in University, Magdalen, New College, and Jesus, all which have Heads that are sufficiently of the High Church party; so that I believe they, finding it like to have little effect, have thought it best to let it drop. Mr. Percy, the son of your old acquaintance at Christ-church, not only read your book himself, but encouraged others to do it. I hope you will not impute the indiscreet zeal of a few to the whole University, any more than we should lay the failing of the Bishops to the Church.

“Your most faithful servant,

“T. TYRRELL.”

Another consequence of the Essay was the celebrated controversy to which it gave birth between the author and Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester. In this contest, it is, we believe, generally allowed that the hardy good sense, and the keen and vigorous logic of the philosopher, were more than a match for the vast and ponderous erudition of the theologian. We notice the matter chiefly as it illustrates the prodigal endowment of the noble biographer with those generous qualities in which the Churchmen are so uniformly and disgracefully defective. Having remarked that, in other times, an ecclesiastic would have been saved from the humiliation of defeat by a removal of the dispute into the Inquisition, or the Court of High Commission, he proceeds, with admirable candour and liberality, to suggest that “perhaps this prelate of our reformed Church might breathe a regret that he could not employ the arms of the Roman Church, or the Stuart princes, and silence his adversary by the same *ultima ratio* of ecclesiastics, which he had seen so successfully used against Galileo, scarce fifty years before.” We have here, a beautiful exhibition both of the judgment and the charity of our noble author: of his charity, in ascribing odious dispositions to a learned and venera-

ble man, without producing a single fragment of evidence in support of the imputation; of his judgment, in selecting for such a censure the author of the *Irenicon*; a divine who, at one time, had brought himself under suspicion with his brethren for the somewhat dangerous latitude of his principles. His Lordship's kind and generous heart may possibly find some additional comfort in the belief which once was entertained, that the death of this *inquisiturient* bishop was hastened by the vexation of his failure. We greatly fear, however, that there is but little foundation in fact for this consolatory surmise. The gout, after all, was probably the great avenger commissioned to redress the wrongs inflicted upon liberality and common sense! To this disorder Stillingfleet had for many years been a martyr, and, at last, it fixed on his stomach, and destroyed him in the 65th year of his age.

It was probably about this time that Locke and Newton first became acquainted. A correspondence commenced between them, from which several communications are inserted by Lord King. Of these papers one contains the demonstration of the first and eleventh propositions of the *Principia*. From another of them it would appear that Locke was a serious and sad believer in the multiplication of metals (that is, in a process by which a given quantity of any metal may be augmented): for these are the words of Newton—"I have forbore to say anything against multiplication in general, because you seem persuaded of it, though there is one argument against it which I never could find an answer to, and which, if you will let me have your opinion about it, I will send you in my next." If this were the real persuasion of Locke, it is one additional instance of that somewhat credulous tendency which manifests itself occasionally in his gravest works. The man who could *bolt* such prodigious phænomena, as a hybrid between a bull and a mare, and another between a cat and a rat,* was not likely to be much startled by the wildest reveries of the alchemists. Several of the letters relate to various points of biblical criticism, and among others to Newton's celebrated Dissertation on 1 John, v. 7, which, as it now appears, was first communicated by Newton to Locke in the strictest confidence. The author was withheld from publication by his constitutional timidity, and abhorrence of controversy; or,—as Lord King, with his usual mildness and liberality, is pleased to represent the matter—by his unwillingness to encounter "the scoffs and censures of the *theological bigots of the age*, who were incompetent or indisposed to appreciate the value of his labours." These annoyances Newton hoped to avoid by getting the work translated into French, and

* Essay, b. iii. c. 6. s. 23.

printed anonymously abroad, through the medium of some of Locke's literary friends. He afterwards, however, repented of his purpose, entreated Locke to countermand the translation, it being his design to suppress the work altogether; and in a letter dated May 3, 1692, expresses himself "glad that the edition is stopped." From that time, till the year 1754, the Dissertation in question was accordingly buried. It then was brought to light, though in an imperfect and mutilated condition; and was, at last, restored by Horsley, in his edition of Newton's works, from an original manuscript in the author's own hand, in possession of Dr. Ekins, Dean of Carlisle. Some copies of the same work, it seems, are still at Hurstbourne, the seat of Lord Portsmouth. These, the noble biographer suggests, should be submitted to the examination of some competent person: adding, however, in his customary style of lofty and dignified urbanity, that the person entrusted with the task of ascertaining whether such copies are in a perfect state, ought to be an individual "less influenced by theological and ecclesiastical biases, than the learned and Right Reverend Editor of Sir Isaac Newton's works!"*

But, by far the most curious portion of this correspondence is a letter of Newton to Locke, in which the former roundly and most abruptly accuses himself of having given utterance to language of strange uncharitableness respecting his friend, for which he most penitently apologizes, in a tone—as Mr. D. Stewart expresses it—of "almost infantine simplicity." The letter in question is as follows.—p. 224.

"SIR,

"BEING of opinion that you endeavoured to embroil me with women and by other means, I was so much affected with it, as that when one told me you were sickly and would not live, I answered, 'twere better if you were dead. I desire you to forgive me this uncharitableness. For I am now satisfied that what you have done is just, and I beg your pardon for my having had thoughts of you for it, and for representing that you struck at the root of morality, in a principle you laid down in your Book of Ideas, and designed to pursue in another book, and that I took you for a Hobbist. I beg your pardon also for saying or thinking that there was a design to sell me an office, or to embroil me.

I am your most humble

And unfortunate servant,

"At the Bull, in Shoreditch, London,
Sept. 16th, 1693."

IS. NEWTON."

What might be the circumstances, alluded to in this mysterious epistle, and which induced Newton to imagine that Locke had done him unfriendly offices, it would now be utterly vain to con-

jecture. His apprehensions of danger to morality from certain of Locke's positions are not, altogether, so inexplicable. Others, besides Newton, had begun to take alarm at a system, which banished all innate principles; and which might be understood to refer all knowledge *ultimately* to sensation, and thus to resolve all the varieties of moral character into the various degrees of perfection with which the animal mechanism might be constructed. Justice to the memory of Locke demands the insertion of his answer, which must be allowed signally to merit the praise, of good humour and magnanimity, assigned to it by Mr. D. Stewart, and to show that his mind was superior to the irritation of little passions.

“ LOCKE TO NEWTON.

“ SIR,

Oates, Oct. 5th, 1693.

“ I HAVE been ever since I first knew you, so entirely and sincerely your friend, and thought you so much mine, that I could not have believed what you tell me of yourself, had I had it from any body else. And though I cannot but be mightily troubled that you should have had so many wrong and unjust thoughts of me, yet next to the return of good offices, such as from a sincere good will I have ever done you, I receive your acknowledgment of the contrary as the kindest thing you could have done me, since it gives me hopes that I have not lost a friend I so much valued. After what your letter expresses, I shall not need to say any thing to justify myself to you. I shall always think your own reflection on my carriage both to you and all mankind, will sufficiently do that. Instead of that, give me leave to assure you, that I am more ready to forgive you than you can be to desire it; and I do it so freely and fully, that I wish for nothing more than the opportunity to convince you that I truly love and esteem you; and that I have still the same good will for you as if nothing of this had happened. To confirm this to you more fully, I should be glad to meet you any where, and the rather, because the conclusion of your letter makes me apprehend it would not be wholly useless to you. But whether you think it fit or not, I leave wholly to you. I shall always be ready to serve you to my utmost, in any way you shall like, and shall only need your commands or permission to do it.

“ My book is going to the press for a second edition; and though I can answer for the design with which I writ it, yet since you have so opportunely given me notice of what you have said of it, I should take it as a favour, if you would point out to me the places that gave occasion to that censure, that by explaining myself better, I may avoid being mistaken by others, or unawares doing the least prejudice to truth or virtue. I am sure you are so much a friend to them both, that were you none to me, I could expect this from you. But I cannot doubt but you would do a great deal more than this for my sake, who after all have all the concern of a friend for you, wish you extremely well, and am without compliment.”

“ The draft of the letter is indorsed ‘ J. L. to I. Newton.’ ”

To this Newton immediately replied as follows.

"SIR,

"THE last winter by sleeping too often by my fire, I got an ill habit of sleeping; and a distemper, which this summer has been epidemical, put me farther out of order, so that when I wrote to you, I had not slept an hour a night for a fortnight together, and for five nights together not a wink. I remember I wrote to you, but what I said of your book I remember not. If you please to send me a transcript of that passage, I will give you an account of it if I can.

I am your most humble servant,

IS. NEWTON."

"Cambridge, Oct. 5th, 1693."

From this it appears that Newton's former letter must have been written under the influence of long sleeplessness and disease; that, in all probability, he hardly knew what he was about while he was penning it—and that in less than three weeks afterwards he had well nigh forgotten the imputation and the apology together. We are consequently in no condition to pronounce, with much certainty, whether or not, he retained, on deliberate reflection, the objections he had expressed to the ethics and metaphysics of his illustrious friend.

In 1691, Locke published his first treatise "On the Consequence of lowering the Interest, and raising the Value of Money;" a performance which fixed so high an estimation on his powers, as a sound and masterly economist, that, in 1695, it produced an application to him from the ministers for additional assistance and advice. At that period the pressure of distress was generally and severely felt. The national resources were formidably disordered and reduced, partly by the war, and partly by the practice of clipping the coin. The usual remedy for these calamities, an alteration of the standard, immediately rushed into the minds of those unscrupulous individuals, who called themselves *practical men*. Lord Somers, being resolved to stand in the breach against this most ancient, but most shameful and ruinous expedient, was anxious to fortify himself with the authority of one, who was known eminently to combine the advantages of a profound and a *practical* understanding. He accordingly addressed to Locke a letter, which is given by Lord King,* in which he expresses his confidence that the philosopher will be able, without much difficulty, to provide an answer to all the objections produced against perseverance in the way of honesty and rectitude. The result of this suggestion was the second treatise, entitled "Further Considerations concerning raising the Value of Money." In this essay he condemns the nefarious project of altering the standard

* P. 241.

as a fraud upon all creditors, and justly exposes it—"the means of confounding the property of the subject, and disturbing affairs to no purpose." The wisdom of Locke was happily triumphant. The government had the courage to adopt the counsels of integrity and common sense. The great recoinage of 1695 restored the currency to its full legal standard; and thus the immortal reformer of our metaphysics had the additional glory of assisting, most powerfully, to redeem his country both from infamy and confusion.

These dissertations may, perhaps, be placed among the proudest monuments of Locke's vigorous and penetrating intellect. They fairly merited for him the honours of a civic crown. To this day, we believe, his principles are admitted to be, on all essential points, unquestionably just. In one particular, indeed, his good sense appears to have deserted him; and his error was subsequently adopted by Law, and Montesquieu, and many other writers. He imagined that the influx of the precious metals from the New World must, by augmenting the quantity of money, have tended directly to an unavoidable and permanent reduction of its interest. This mistake has since been exposed by Hume and Adam Smith, who maintained that, in this case, the same cause which augmented the power of lending, must, ultimately, have increased the power of paying interest, and that thus the ratio between the principal and the interest must eventually have been preserved. It is here, however, necessary to remark that, by a circuitous operation, the vast supply of gold and silver from America did actually tend to the production of that effect which Locke ascribed to its direct influence. A great influx of money is inevitably followed by an advance of prices; and an advance of prices as inevitably tends to enrich the productive classes, and to depress those which are unproductive. An alteration in the distribution of wealth will thus gradually take place, sufficient to affect, in some degree, the rate of interest. To a certain extent, therefore, the conclusion of Locke is just, though he happened not to perceive the legitimate way of arriving at it.

Soon after this time Locke was appointed to a seat at the Council of Trade, from which, however, his increasing infirmities soon compelled him to retire. The same reason prevented his acceptance of some further employment, in which King William intended to make his knowledge and virtue serviceable to the public. He had long been labouring under a severe asthmatic affection, which rendered a continued residence in London intolerably distressing. From this cause of aggravation to his disorder, he had, some time, been relieved by the kindness of Sir F. and Lady Masham, with whom he had long been on terms of in-

timacy, and in whose family he had, for several years past, been regularly domesticated. In their friendship he found the fullest alleviation of which his sufferings were capable: and his retirement was rendered peculiarly pleasing to him by the society of Lady Masham, daughter of the celebrated Cudworth, a person of cultivated mind and singularly agreeable manners. From the portions of his correspondence here selected by Lord King, it appears that the powers of his mind still retained their brightness and vigour, that his appetite for knowledge remained unabated, and that he continued to watch, with the eye and heart of a patriot, the fortunes of his country. As became one who felt that he was almost at the threshold of eternity, his latest literary occupation was of a sacred character. He employed himself on his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, which was afterwards published among his posthumous works. The account of his last hours shall be given in the words of his biographer.

"In October, 1704, his disorder greatly increased: on the 27th of that month Lady Masham not finding him in his study as usual, went to his bedside, when he told her that the fatigue of getting up the day before had been too much for his strength, and that he never expected to rise again from his bed. He said that he had now finished his career in this world, and that in all probability he should not outlive the night, certainly not to be able to survive beyond the next day or two. After taking some refreshment, he said to those present that he wished them all happiness after he was gone. To Lady Masham, who remained with him, he said that he thanked God he had passed a happy life, but that now he found that all was vanity, and exhorted her to consider this world only as a preparation for a better state hereafter. He would not suffer her to sit up with him, saying, that perhaps he might be able to sleep, but if any change should happen, he would send for her. Having no sleep in the night, he was taken out of bed and carried into his study, where he slept for some time in his chair: after waking, he desired to be dressed, and then heard Lady Masham read the Psalms, apparently with great attention, until perceiving his end to draw near, he stopped her, and expired a very few minutes afterwards, about three o'clock in the evening of the 28th October, in his 73d year."—p. 263.

Such was the end of Locke. And to every one whose *heart is right in the sight of God*, it must be soothing and delightful to contemplate such a close of his earthly existence. Let those who are for deifying their own intellect look upon this scene; and let them remember that this man, whose mind has impressed itself indelibly on all future generations, nevertheless breathed his last with the lowliness of a child,—with the words of eternal life upon his ear and in his heart.

But although it is evident that this great man died as he had lived—in the firmest belief of the Christian revelation—it would, perhaps, as his biographer justly remarks, be somewhat difficult “to speak of the particular form of his faith.” Thus much, however, we may learn,—that “for the *dogmatical* and *mystical* doctors of the Church he had no predilection; and that Reason was his rule and guide in everything.”* Now, if we had never before heard the name of Locke, or read a single syllable of his writings, it would require but little sagacity to predict, from these two sentences, with tolerable accuracy, the general complexion of his theology. A dislike for the dogmatical and mystical doctors, generally means a disposition to reject all those religious doctrines which are frequently stigmatized as mysteries; and a resolution to follow the sole guidance of Reason, often implies not only a salutary distrust of human authority, but a determined and sturdy resistance to it. And both these tendencies are, most undeniably, exemplified in the theological writings of Locke.

That such should be the case will surprise no one who has carefully studied the peculiar character of his mind, or has attentively watched the history of his pursuits. It would, doubtless, be doing him wrong to say that he was a haughty, rash, and obstinate inquirer—that he was a man of proud looks and presumptuous thoughts. But though he had none of that towering arrogance which makes a man an overbearing dogmatist, he had evidently a very lofty notion of what any single intellect may accomplish by a resolute and concentrated application of its own unassisted powers. He thought that a man “might, either with or without teachers, make great advances in anything he had a mind to.”—“Mr. Newton,” he said, “learned his mathematics only of himself; and another friend of mine Greek without a master.”† Again, “when a man has got an entrance into any of the sciences, it will be time then to depend upon himself, and rely on his own understanding, and exercise his own faculties, which is the only way to improvement and mastery.”‡ Intrepid and unflinching self-exertion, in short, in his estimation, was the battering-ram before which “temple and tower” of adamant must in time come to the ground. He seemed to have no conception that there was, throughout the whole region of human knowledge, any fortress strong enough to resist it. Now it must be remembered, that this principle, though it has unquestionably given birth to prodigies of attainment and invention, is sometimes found to produce effects not altogether favourable to a just equilibrium of the mind.

* P. 272.

† P. 5.

‡ Ibid.

Self-taught persons are in perpetual danger of becoming, more or less, wrong-headed. They feel, perhaps, that they have accomplished wonders by the independent exercise of their capacities, till at last they come to believe that nothing is beyond their attainment. They have done so much by thinking for themselves, that they gradually fall into the persuasion that it is quite superfluous to resort to the meditations of other people. It would be needless to point out the obvious stages by which they may at last arrive at something like a sovereign contempt for human authority, and a habit of disparaging all the wisdom which has gone before them. Thus it is that an aspect of obstinacy, intractability, and doggedness, is sometimes given to minds which a different discipline might easily have moulded to "act more graceful and humane," without the slightest sacrifice of activity or strength. Something of this description may, perhaps, be allowed to have happened to Locke. He was not, indeed, in the most rigid sense of the word, a self-taught man; but all his inquiries were carried on rather in the spirit of one who was hewing out a path for himself, than using the labours of other men; and this, no doubt, has given an admirable character of boldness and originality to most of his achievements. But it unquestionably produced or strengthened that habitual want of reverence for all established opinions—that ungracious disrespect for the wisdom and the learning of antiquity—which has been numbered among his defects, even by his most passionate admirers.

There was, besides, another circumstance which drove him forcibly to a reliance on his own resources. One of the studies to which he was mainly devoted was, certainly, but ill adapted to win much confidence or veneration for the sages of ancient days. It is impossible for any thoughtful person to contemplate the scholastic metaphysics, without a painful oppression of spirit. They present to us a waste and perversion of intellect so utterly prodigious, that we cannot easily contemplate them, without feeling as if we were witnessing a capricious, and almost an impious abuse of the highest gifts of God. We think on them as we think on the insane and prodigal ambition which constructed the Pyramids, or the giant temples of Elephanta, or the Labyrinth of Crete, or that prototype of all the wild projects of human presumption, the Tower of Babel. It is not, then, at all surprising that a mind like that of Locke, with a strong turn for whatever was potently and directly applicable to the daily interests and exigences of human nature, should turn away, with a mixture of astonishment and contempt, from these stupendous piles of useless mental architecture, and should be impelled to attempt the construction of a fabric more simple and commodious, and more

obviously conducive to the comfort and improvement of his fellow creatures. For twenty centuries had men been heaping up to themselves teachers, *ever learning, yet never able to come to the knowledge of the truth!* The natural effect of a retrospect like this upon an intellect eminently practical, was to connect with antiquity the notions of ignorance, and prejudice, and obliquity of thought; to lower the dignity and influence of ancient names; and to produce a conviction that little was to be done in the search after truth by any one who was not prepared, in the most sweeping application of the phrase, *to call no man master*. The pursuits and meditations of Locke were, in short, exactly calculated to produce, in a most exalted degree, “a dislike for the dogmatic and mystical doctors, and a determination to take reason for his rule and guide *in every thing!*”

It was another somewhat disadvantageous peculiarity of his mind, that, though vast and profound, it was nevertheless entirely *prosaic*. The imaginative faculty, if not entirely wanting, was of mean and dwarfish growth—it reached no fulness of dignified proportion. Eloquence and poetry he disregarded, and perhaps despised; or if ever he wasted any of his attention on them, it was only to betray his utter want of taste; for he seems almost to agree with his friend Molyneux, who thought that Blackmore had thrown all other poets, Milton alone excepted, into the rank of mere ballad-makers. In short, he never condescended to do sacrifice or honour to Apollo, or the Graces, or the Muses; and his Minerva, who was the exclusive mistress of his adoration, must have been a remarkably square-built, sinewy, Amazonian sort of divinity,—with a stern and penetrating eye, of somewhat “high claims and terrifying exactions,”—and, like the Penelope of Homer, holding in her stout large hand* the ponderous key which was to unlock the repositories of solid wisdom. But though he disdained all devotion to the more graceful deities, he does not seem entirely to have discarded the worship of Momus. Some considerable powers of humorous illustration he undoubtedly possessed; a certain happy and familiar facetiousness; a facility of turning the laugh against his adversary, without much appearance of acrimony or ill nature—as, for instance, where, in answer to Barclay, who allowed that an atrocious tyrant might be *respectfully* resisted, Locke replies—“He that can reconcile blows with reverence, may, for aught I know, deserve for his pains a civil *respectful* cudgelling, whenever he can meet with it.”† But of what may be called the *play* and undulation of his mind, this

* “Εἰλετο δὲ κληῖδ’ ἑκαμπέα χεῖρι Πάχεϊη
καλῆν, χαλκείην.—*Od.* φ. δ.

† On Government, vol. v. p. 479.

seems to have been the extent. There was in it none of that exursive energy which carries us "beyond this visible diurnal sphere"—no aspirations after "the form of things unknown"—no electrical sympathy with minds, which were *charged*, as it were, with the empyrean element. Now, strange as it may, perhaps, appear, we cannot help believing the absence of this high quality to be very far from favourable to the study of theology. Imagination, beyond all doubt, in undue predominance, is of all faculties the most dangerous to an expositor of Scripture. Unless it be under the perpetual controul of a patient and steady judgment, it is almost sure to hurry the adventurer into some limbo of extravagance and absurdity, and perhaps to launch him into the wild abyss of irreverent and presumptuous speculation. But then, on the other hand, we never can deem it safe to explore the depths of Providence and of Grace with no other guide but the Genius of logic and metaphysics. The spirit of mere investigation is austere, inflexible and cold; always hungering and thirsting after rigorous demonstration; always suspicious of imposture and delusion, whenever a voice begins to whisper, *the word is nigh unto thee, even in thine heart!* If, therefore, we were to figure to ourselves the perfection of a scriptural commentator, we should, unquestionably, admit the imaginative power into a close alliance with the other necessary capacities. We could not fail to perceive that a certain vividness of conception, a "strong divinity of soul"—combined with the spirit of patience and sobriety, and of a *sound mind*—is required of one who would listen, with clear intelligence, to the oracles of God, and would take upon himself to expound them afterwards to his fellow-creatures. Without an infusion of that sublime quality, the merely argumentative intellect may often fail to penetrate to the hidden treasure of God's word, and the marvellous things of his law. Those depths must frequently be reached by a process at once more certain and more rapid; as the lightning from heaven works its way with the speed of thought, and with infinitely more precision than any mortal instrument. The world of moral and spiritual things, in short, is one in which the *mere* reasoner can never breathe with entire freedom, or move with natural ease, activity and vigour. He is in the midst of elements to which his faculties are not in a state of perfect adaptation. He resembles in some degree an insect which, though he may retain his eyes and other organs, has lost the tips of its antennæ: or rather, he may be likened to a bird whose wings have never grown to their full strength, and whom accordingly it behoves to win his uneasy way by the combined motion of "*sail and oars*." Philosophic acuteness and perspicacity, when destitute of the influence of the higher faculties, the *mens divini*or, will, in like

manner, be in danger of leading the adventurer into a wrong track. If the former allure him to forbidden and perilous flights, the latter will probably tend to keep him too near to the earth. And it is accordingly found that the pupils of the *rational* school of interpretation, being unprovided with pinion, by which to soar to the heights of Truth, are constantly labouring to confine her within the limits of their own circumscribed powers of excursion.

Something of this, it seems to us, appears both in the morality and the religion of Locke. His morality has something of a Utilitarian aspect about it. Its lineaments are not altogether celestial. It betrays a mortal mixture. It is of the earth, earthy. Of this we may see an instance in an extract from his commonplace book, given by Lord King, dated 1661, in which, though he begins by acknowledging that virtue has the force of a law, as originating in the will of God, he yet proceeds to bury this acknowledgment beneath a load of argument from expediency, in which he measures the worth of temperance chiefly by its effect on our health, estates, and precious time; of justice, truth, and mercy, by the quantity of good they are likely to produce; of conjugal chastity by "the rules and bounds set by custom and reputation" in a state of society. Here is no reference to the exalted views and principles which govern the Christian, and which make him incomparably the best member of society, though perhaps with little immediate thought or calculation as to the transitory influence of his actions on the community of which he is a member. "Be ye holy," says the sacred volume, "even as your Father is holy; purify yourselves, even as he is pure, Know ye not that ye are the temple of the Holy Ghost? therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." Abstain from excess, and from iniquity, says the apostle of utility, because they must bring disease and infamy and ruin upon yourself, and entail confusion on the society which protects you! We have here two classes of motives, each of them undeniably legitimate: but the difference between the Utilitarian sage and the purely Christian teacher is, that the latter finds his highest delight and firmest security in those incitements which bring us into the immediate presence of the Divine perfection; while the other is content to crawl for ever among the comparatively beggarly elements and interests of this lower world. Another notion of our great philosopher's, savouring very strongly of the school of expediency, was, that morality is capable of being ranked among the exact sciences, and may be brought, as completely as numbers or geometry, within the dominion of rigorous demonstration. Of course we cannot here undertake to discuss the merits or demerits of this ingenious surmise; but we greatly suspect, that if we had

Evangelists and Apostles now among us, they would tell us that such a mode of proceeding would be found about as useful as to take a candle to look for the sun.

With regard to the personal morality of Locke, there seems to be no doubt that it was far above reproach or suspicion. No man, perhaps, ever lived up to his own principles more steadily and more nobly. His trials, according to Le Clerc's account, appear to have been those of temper; but he struggled against them manfully. He was, constitutionally, somewhat choleric. But, then, it should be always remembered, that his irritability was seldom called forth into violent action, by any thing but by a species of provocation, which may well be thought too much for the patience of a stoic or a saint. His fondness for conversation sometimes brought him into conflict with those pests of society, who are prompted to contention, not by their love of truth, but by the pitiful and unprincipled ambition of showing that their success in argument is wholly independent of the merit of their cause; and who, when defeat is hanging over them, glory in a masterly retreat, under cover of some ambiguity of language. Disputants of this class were pretty sure to receive from him the chastisement due to their wretched impertinence and vanity,—unless, indeed, the philosopher happened to be prepared and fortified before hand with an unusual supply of equanimity. And who can regret that delinquents of this description should suffer, occasionally, from the weight of his arm, and the keenness of his temper? In general, however, no man was more deeply sensible than he, of the absurdities incident to habits of passionate violence; and we are told, that he mastered this natural tendency, as he mastered every thing else, by the force of *reason*. "He often," says Le Clerc, "described the ridicule of it, and said that it availed nothing in the education of children, nor in keeping servants in order; and that it only lessened the authority which one had over them." If there was any thing which could be said to approach to a serious blemish in his life, it was, (as we have already ventured to suggest,) his endurance of the intimacy of Lord Shaftesbury. For this, however, we are not unwilling to accept the apology of Charles Fox, that he was irresistibly captivated by the brilliant and engaging qualities of his friend, combined as they were with the profoundest sagacity and penetration, and with an almost intuitive knowledge of human nature. To this may be reasonably added the observation of Sir J. Mackintosh, that almost every error of Locke, (whether in speculation or practice,) may be traced to the influence of some virtue. Unconscious of evil designs himself, he may have been slow to suspect deliberate profligacy in others; especially in one whose commanding quali-

ties had once engaged his respect and attachment. And this solution of the difficulty derives probability from the circumstance, that his connection with this individual appears to have been entirely disinterested, and unstained with sordid or mercenary purposes.

Of his personal religion one thing is certain, that it was most profoundly and fervently sincere. Of his dogmatical religion we feel ourselves unable to give any very precise or satisfactory account. To say, with his biographer, that "his religion was that of the Scriptures," is to say nothing that will convey any precise or distinct notion of it; for this is no more than what is said by all who profess to receive their religion from the Bible. One thing, however, is obvious—that he was under the influence of a perpetual anxiety to simplify the Christian Revelation, and to bring it down to the level of human reason. This anxiety is betrayed in one of the papers published in the present collection,* in which he exhibits an invincible but no very original contrast between orthodoxy and virtue: and labours to fix on all framers of creeds the obloquy of endeavouring to monopolize the attention of the world, and to disparage practice as compared with opinion. These same views are amply illustrated by the general tenor of his religious writings. The favourite and prominent position maintained by him in his *Essay on the reasonableness of Christianity*, for instance, is, that the acknowledgment of Jesus as the Son of God, and the promised Messiah, is the *one* ground and fundamental article of the Christian faith. It is well known that this treatise involved him in a controversy, his own part of which occupies one complete volume of his works.† And here, we are impelled to notice, incidentally, that controversial writing appears to have been an exercise in which he found considerable solace and gratification. We are far from asserting that his temper was polemical or contentious: but the conflict of understanding provided an appropriate application for his acute and argumentative mind. It brought into action his peculiar powers: it called forth precisely those faculties, which he must have been conscious of possessing in unusual vigour and perfection. He accordingly seems to delight in the task of pursuing an adversary through all his mazes and doublings, till (as he fancies) he has fairly driven him to earth. He has the perseverance and often the sagacity of a "questing hound." He abandons himself to his object with a total contempt of fatigue, and sometimes with a forgetfulness that the sport might not be quite so absorbing to the spectator, as to the parties engaged. With the labours of his

* P. 281.

† The VIth Vol. Ed. 1801.

antagonist, Dr. Edwards, we have no acquaintance, except that which may be derived from the extracts produced by Locke in his vindication. From these it appears that the Essay in question was assailed in no very remarkable spirit of meekness or courtesy. It was stigmatized as the work of an "upstart Racovian;* a childish, impertinent, weak, incoherent, dissembling scribbler;" it was represented as the performance of one who, together with his crew, was "sailing to Racovia by a side wind;" nay, sometimes it is described as the adventure of a navigator who had already arrived and disembarked there,—for the author is fairly and roundly charged with being "all over Socinianized." All this, it must be confessed, seems nearly to justify the remark of Locke's friend, Molyneux, that "were Mr. Edwards to defend the best cause in the world, he would spoil it." In reply, however, to these unceremonious imputations, it is observable that Locke does not, in direct terms, disavow the Socinian opinions. He contents himself with asserting, that not a syllable of Socinianism is to be found in his work; that, for aught he knows to the contrary, the Anti-Trinitarians and Racovians may have expounded certain passages of Scriptures as he has done; but that if they have so expounded them, it is more than he was aware of. The truth of the matter is, that the scheme of this Essay might safely enough be embraced by persons whose position was at the very lowest extremity of the Christian doctrines; and, in the estimate of the writer himself, the "lankness" and meagreness of his creed, probably, constituted its highest merit, as compared with the puffy and asthmatic corpulence of our overgrown and unwholesome confession. Scarcely any class of persons, professing the Christian faith, will hesitate to acknowledge that Jesus of Nazareth was the Anointed of God, the Deliverer and the Ruler, who should come into the world. And, beyond all question, it were most devoutly to be wished, that there had prevailed in all ages such a perfect uniformity of persuasion respecting the person, the nature, and the offices of the Saviour, as might have relieved the Church from the necessity of formal and technical expositions of her faith. The error, however, of Locke is, that he always feels and argues as if Articles and Creeds had engendered all the strife which has convulsed and lacerated Christian society; whereas, in truth, it is the spirit of arrogance and discord which has produced the Creeds, by rendering them absolutely indispensable. To confine our profession of Christianity barely to the acceptance of Jesus as the Messiah, would, in these times, be neither more nor less than to proclaim it to be a matter of

* See Vol. VII. p. 193.

profound indifference, whether we adore the Lord who bought us, as the co-essential Son of the Everlasting Father, or whether we merely give him the honour due to a law-giver and a prophet. It would be, in short, to bring within the same enclosure the worshippers who fall down before the mysterious Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world, and the speculators and reasoners whose system is conterminous with the lowest and the dreariest regions of Deism; those who live and move and have their being in the vital splendours of the Sun, and those who are content to gaze for ever on the freezing brightness of the Arctic meteors.

We cannot but suspect, from a view of his theological labours, that, although Locke was the votary of reason, he never completely learned what is her highest office,—that of determining when it is her own duty to retire from the chair, and to surrender it to the spirit of pious humility and resignation. That reason, however, had “*Socinianised* him all over,” is more than it might be safe or righteous to pronounce. That she had pretty well *Arianized* him appears much more probable, from an article published in this volume, entitled “*Christus non Deus Supremus*,” though it would be no easy task to decide in what precise region below the Trinitarian doctrine he finally took his stand. There is another article from the same *Adversaria*, entitled “*Non Trinitas*,” exhibiting nothing, (so far as we are aware,) that has not been repeatedly considered and refuted. Among others, is the notable objection, that the doctrine of the Trinity “subverteth the unity of God, introducing three Gods.” A trite and superficial argument like this from a profound metaphysician, is absolutely astonishing. It is quite unaccountable that an intellect like that of Locke should have failed to perceive how little the difficulty of forming any conception of the Divine Essence is really augmented by the doctrine of a threefold personal subsistence and agency. Is it possible that he can ever have asked himself what it is that forms the principle of individuation? Is it possible that the uniform consent of primitive Christian antiquity was ever fully presented to his mind? What would he have said with the whole mass of the Ante-Nicene testimony fairly before him? Would his spirit of mental independence enable him to bear stiffly up against such a mass of evidence? Would he venture to pronounce it probable that apostolic men had mistaken the apostolic doctrines, and that it was reserved for remote ages to discover the true sense of Scripture on fundamental points of belief?

There is another region of theology, in which even the very reason of Locke seems to have fallen under a disastrous occultation. He rejects the doctrine of atonement, or compensation by

vicarious suffering, because it is inconsistent with the words of St. Paul, who says, expressly, "that sinners are justified by God *gratis*, and of his free bounty;"* strangely unmindful of the obvious and irresistible consideration, that when the Father of Mercies, of his own unbought and unsolicited goodness, *provides* a method of Redemption for a fallen world, he may, with transcendent justice and truth, be said to redeem that world gratuitously. If the Lord himself provideth the burnt-offering for the sacrifice, beyond all question he gratuitously justifies the sinner who immolates it and places it on the altar. There is, doubtless, in that case, an expiation offered for transgression; but it is the bounty and the compassion of the offended Deity himself who has furnished the means of atonement; and even thus it was with the precious blood-shedding of the Lamb that was slain from the foundation of the world. From the same note which contains this unhappy criticism, it is evident that he considers the language which speaks of price or ransom as purely metaphorical; and contends that, "if we will strictly adhere to the metaphor, the ransom must be paid to those to whom the redeemed are in bondage, and from whom we are redeemed, viz. sin and Satan." Now to us this really appears to be about as *rational*, as it would be to contend that, when a person falls into captivity, his ransom must be paid to his gaoler, or to the governor of the fortress in which he is immured! Is it possible that Locke could endure to contemplate the adversary of mankind as an independent power, entering into contract or stipulation with the Almighty? or did he imagine that this view of the matter could be tolerated by any one who believes in the propitiatory virtue of the death and passion of Jesus Christ? When men are said to be in bondage to Satan, nothing more is ever implied by the expression than this,—that to a certain extent they are consigned to the malicious will of one who exercises his power *permissively*, and for certain purposes, as the minister, or, if we may so express it, as the executioner of Divine Justice. If, therefore, we are to speak of contracting parties in the great transaction of man's redemption, undoubtedly those parties are not man and Satan, or God and Satan, but the Righteousness and the Mercy of the Godhead. By disobedience man lost his uprightness and his freedom; from that state of thralldom, to which the Justice of the Deity then consigned him, nothing but the Mercy of the Deity ever could have redeemed him. Justice pronounced the sentence of captivity—Mercy provided the only ransom which was of worth sufficient to make that sentence revocable. And thus it is

* Note to Rom. iii. 24.

that Righteousness and Peace have met together and embraced each other. Thus it is that man is ransomed from the house of bondage, and enabled to walk abroad in light and liberty, and in renovation of heart and strength.

It will easily be imagined that a person who was thus impatient of creeds, and articles, and tests, and confessions of truth, and of *dogmatical and mystical* expositions of Scripture, would be apt to champ and fret under the curb of almost any imaginable form of ecclesiastical discipline; that he would be clamorous for terms of communion within which all the capricious varieties of belief might roll, and tumble, and take their pastime; and that his life would be one perpetual protest against the exclusive doctrines and discipline of the Church of England, administered, as it then undoubtedly was, in a spirit of harshness, which at once vexed and strengthened the cause of nonconformity. What were his notions of the perfection of ecclesiastical polity, we are now in a condition to judge with perfect accuracy. Lord King has printed for us a scheme of religious society, which Locke drew up in 1688, during his residence in Holland, to which he gave the title of "Pacific Christians;" and which, his Lordship observes, "may be considered as his idea of a pure Christian community or church, untainted by worldly considerations or by professional arts." As this is a very curious document, and exhibits the deliberate views and opinions of this extraordinary man, it is here inserted entire.—(pp. 273—275.)

"PACIFIC CHRISTIANS."

"1. WE think nothing necessary to be known, or believed for salvation, but what God hath revealed.

"2. We therefore embrace all those who, in sincerity, receive the Word of Truth revealed in the Scripture, and obey the light which enlightens every man that comes into the world.

"3. We judge no man in meats, or drinks, or habits, or days, or any other outward observancies, but leave every one to his freedom in the use of those outward things which he thinks can most contribute to build up the inward man in righteousness, holiness, and the true love of God, and his neighbour, in Christ Jesus.

"4. If any one find any doctrinal parts of Scripture difficult to be understood, we recommend him—1st. The study of the Scriptures in humility and singleness of heart: 2^d. Prayer to the Father of lights to enlighten him: 3^d. Obedience to what is already revealed to him, remembering that the practice of what we do know is the surest way to more knowledge; our infallible guide having told us, if any man will do the will of Him that sent me, he shall know of the doctrines, John, vii. 17. 4th. We leave him to the advice and assistance of those whom he thinks best able to instruct him, no men, or society of men, having any authority to impose their opinions or interpretations on any other,

the meanest Christian, since, in matters of religion, every man must know, and believe, and give an account for himself.

“ 5. We hold it to be an indispensable duty for all Christians to maintain love and charity in the diversity of contrary opinions; by which charity we do not mean an empty sound, but an effectual forbearance and good-will, carrying men to a communion, friendship, and mutual assistance, one of another, in outward as well as spiritual things; and by debarring all magistrates from making use of their authority, much less their sword, (which was put into their hands only against evil doers,) in matters of faith or worship.

“ 6. Since the Christian religion we profess is not a notional science, to furnish speculation to the brain, or discourse to the tongue, but a rule of righteousness to influence our lives, Christ having given himself to redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a people zealous of good works,* we profess the only business of our public assemblies to be to exhort thereunto, laying aside all controversy and speculative questions, instruct and encourage one another in the duties of a good life, which is acknowledged to be the great business of true religion, and to pray God for the assistance of his Spirit for the enlightening our understanding and subduing our corruptions, that so we may return unto him a reasonable and acceptable service, and show our faith by our works, proposing to ourselves and others the example of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, as the great pattern for our imitation.

“ 7. One alone being our master, even Christ, we acknowledge no masters of our assembly; but if any man, in the spirit of love, peace, and meekness, has a word of exhortation, we hear him.

“ 8. Nothing being so oppressive, or having proved so fatal to unity, love, and charity, the first great characteristic duties of Christianity, as men's fondness of their own opinions, and their endeavours to set them up, and have them followed, instead of the Gospel of peace; to prevent those seeds of dissension and division, and maintain unity in the difference of opinions which we know cannot be avoided—if any one appear contentious, abounding in his own sense rather than in love, and desirous to draw followers after himself, with destruction or opposition to others, we judge him not to have learned Christ as he ought, and therefore not fit to be a teacher of others.

“ 9. Decency and order in our assemblies being directed, as they ought, to edification, can need but very few and plain rules. Time and place of meeting being settled, if any thing else need regulation, the assembly itself, or four of the ancientest, soberest, and discreetest of the brethren, chosen for that occasion, shall regulate it.

“ 10. From every brother that, after admonition, walketh disorderly, we withdraw ourselves.

“ 11. We each of us think it our duty to propagate the doctrine and practice of universal good-will and obedience in all places, and on all occasions, as God shall give us opportunity.”

And this is the scheme of religious polity to which the genius of Locke would have reduced the great and wealthy Empire of

* Titus, ii. 14.

Britain! Every thing in the form of a National Establishment was to be thrown aside, like so much cumbersome and worthless trumpery; the separation of individuals for the Christian ministry was to be abolished, as no better than a perpetuation of priestcraft; every member of every congregation was to be at liberty to produce his psalm, or his doctrine, or his revelation, or his interpretation; and the whole land was to be filled with conventicles of *pacific* and *free-thinking* Christians, in their form resembling nothing under heaven now in existence but so many Quakers' meetings. And this precious model of Christian purity, simplicity, and freedom, is gravely set up by the noble biographer in triumphant contrast with the National Church, "tainted" as it is "by worldly considerations, or by professional arts." Well—let us suppose this glorious exemption to be instantly adopted—let us imagine the line of confusion to be stretched over the Establishment—bishops, priests, and deacons to be swept into the limbo of vain things—and not a parson left to infest the land. Among the multitude of questions which then rush into the mind, one is prominent beyond the rest. How long would this gifted body of Christians preserve their title of *pacific*? How long would it be, before each congregation would become a synagogue of discord and confusion, and its elements be scattered to the four winds of heaven? Of two things, one must inevitably take place in such a constitution. Either every individual must be left at liberty to propound his own "doctrine and interpretation;" or he must be content to confine himself to the meagre generalities of the society's creed. If a latitude of exposition were allowed, what is to hinder, but the morning "*revelation*" might carry the hearers to the heights of the Trinitarian doctrine—that the afternoon exercise might let them down from their elevation into the regions of Arianism—and that the evening performance might deposit them safely in the lowest and most miry stratum of Socinianism? And in that case, what becomes of the harmony, and the peace, and the consistency, of the *pacific* brethren? But if, on the contrary, all who take upon themselves the work of teaching and exhortation are to be restrained from wandering beyond the simplicity of the public confession, what is to become of the blessed freedom of thought and utterance, for the attainment of which establishments and hierarchies are to be laid in ruins? And how is it that uniformity of doctrine is to be preserved but by the banishment of the adventurous and refractory expositor? And in what is all this to end, but in the interminable multiplication of religious communities? In what, but in the crumbling of Christian society into "the dust and powder of individuality?" A process nearly resembling this is at all times

actually going forward, with more or less activity, in the various provinces of Dissent. What, then, would be the condition of the Christian world if there were no one abiding and conspicuous city planted on a hill? no one considerable body, all speaking the same thing, all following the same system and regimen?—no one standard round which the Dissenters, and the Stragglers, might at any time be summoned to assemble in the sacred cause of our common Christianity?

The sum of the whole matter is this—either there must be the compressive power of a religious despotism, like that of Rome; or there must be a National Church, like our own, combining the advantages of an established religion, with ample provision for liberty of conscience; or the Christian world must be left without a single point of concentration, or principle of coherence, to be shattered into innumerable fragments of heresy and schism. Even if it were granted (granted only for a moment, and for the sake of argument,) that neither Scripture, nor immemorial usage, furnished the slightest authority in favour of any peculiar frame of spiritual regimen, we still might reasonably hope for the sanction of the Divine approbation to a scheme which, at least, under a wise and temperate administration, is fitted to produce such inestimable benefits, as the system of our Established Ecclesiastical Institutions. The absence of positive Scriptural regulation with respect to the frame of religious polity, might, at all events, leave us at liberty to conclude thus much—that the genius of Christianity is such as to associate itself amicably with a constitution so conducive as ours to order and consistency, and so calculated to exhibit our faith under an aspect of stability and dignity. Even if there be no exact model revealed to us, we still are, surely, justified in adopting and religiously preserving, a mode of government which, when free from corruption and abuse, is eminently favourable to the combined interests of man, as a sojourner of this world, and a citizen of the world to come. And if so, it is the duty—or at any rate it is no violation of the duty—of civil governments to patronize, support, and honour such a system by every expedient that can be employed, always excepting that of tyranny and persecution.

Another specimen produced by Lord King from the museum of Locke's common-place book, is an article entitled *Sacerdos*: and our readers will instantly divine what is the object of it. The cry of priestcraft is among the most invaluable resources of all reformers; and the ordinary artisans and journeymen in the mystery of revolution will, of course, rejoice to find that they have here the deliberate authority of an eminent master-builder, for clearing the ground, and expediting their future operations,

not merely by the destruction of the National Establishment, but by sweeping away at once the whole incumbrance of the Christian ministry. The views developed in this paper will be found precisely conformable to those which we have already seen exhibited in the scheme of *Pacific Christians*. It tells us that, what is miscalled the Christian priesthood, is founded on nothing better than an impudent usurpation of functions, which the Christian Dispensation has finally abolished; that the sacerdotal office was terminated in the high priesthood of Jesus Christ, who was the last priest; and that the attempt to revive it must be ascribed to the ambition of the clergy, who have claimed the double character of priests and philosophers, and assumed the sole right to teach morality, and to conduct religious ministrations. It further maintains that the Scriptures furnish no authority whatever for the dedication of a peculiar class to the services of religion, or for the communication of an indelible character which was to separate the clergy from the rest of the world. The answer to all this is, of course, familiar to every divine of tolerable information. With regard to the charge of endeavouring to re-produce the sacerdotal character, in the strict acceptation of the phrase, —we may fairly leave the divines of the Greek and Latin Churches to provide the best answer to it they may. It is an imputation which touches no Protestant community that we ever heard of. No minister of any Reformed congregation is ever supposed to be invested with the office of a mediator between God and man, or to practise any acts of propitiation and atonement. The chief right he claims is that of pronouncing, authoritatively, the message of reconciliation, and administering, exclusively, the sacraments which Christ himself ordained. In denying this exclusive right, Locke relies solely on the absence of any express scriptural injunction. The uniform practice and tradition of the Church he utterly disregards. It would have been vain to tell him that the appointment of a religious order, distinct from the other members of the Christian society, can be traced, with the closest approximation to certainty, up to the Apostolic age. It would be vain to appeal to the authority of the early ecclesiastical writers. Against all such arguments he would probably have been fortified by his habitual contempt of antiquity, or, by the persuasion, that the lust of honour and dominion rushed into the Church while the footsteps of its Founder were yet fresh upon earth; and that the love of being called master engendered that monstrous abuse —an imitation of the heathen or Jewish hierarchies. For the sake, then, of those of our readers who may possibly not be in possession of the reply to these perversions, and whose studies may not have directed them to the grounds on which the eccle-

siastical orders of our Church rest their sacred and exclusive authority, we know not what we can do better than refer to the present Bishop of Lincoln's illustrations of the Ecclesiastical History of the second and third century. In the fourth chapter of that work, his Lordship first shows that the distinction between the Clergy and the Laity is considered by Tertullian as established on the authority of the Church: and he then adds, that in order to ascertain the sense in which Tertullian is here to be understood, we must ascertain his notion of a Church. For this purpose he refers to the treatise de Prescriptione Hereticorum, in which a rapid survey is taken of its origin and progress.

"From the churches," he says, "which were planted by the Apostles, others were propagated, and continue to be propagated at the present day, which are all reckoned in the number of the Apostolic Churches, inasmuch as they were the offspring of Apostolic Churches. Moreover, all Churches constitute one Church, being joined together in the unity of the faith and the bond of peace." . . . "In conformity with this view of the origin of the Church" (continues his Lordship) "Tertullian never fails, when arguing on any disputed point of doctrine, to appeal to the belief or practices of those Churches which had been actually founded by the Apostles; on the ground that, in them, the faith taught, and the institutions established by the Apostles, were still preserved. When, therefore, he says that the authority of the Church made the distinction between the Clergy and the Laity, the expression, in his view of the subject, is manifestly equivalent to saying, that *the distinction may be traced to the Apostles, the founders of the Church* . . . It is true that, after his separation from the Church, Tertullian held a different language, and began to contend that wherever two or three are gathered together there was a Church."*

But then, says his Lordship, irresistibly, in another place,†

"The assertion may appear paradoxical, but is, nevertheless, true, that the value of Tertullian's writings to the theological student arises in a great measure from his errors. When he became a Montanist, he set himself to expose what he (then) deemed faulty in the practice and discipline of the Church: thus we are told indirectly what that practice and discipline were; and we obtain information which, but for his secession from the Church, his works would scarcely have supplied. In a word, whether we consider the testimony borne to the genuineness and integrity of the books of the New Testament, or the information relating to the ceremonies, discipline and doctrines of the primitive Church, Tertullian's writings form a most important link in that chain of tradition, which connects the Apostolic age with our own."

And, now, let us lay aside for a moment the overpowering weight of such a name as that of Locke; and let us, soberly, ask ourselves—which authority shall we adopt?—that of a distin-

* Page 229—231.

† Page 38.

guished Father of the Christian Church, who lived and wrote at a period so near to the Apostolic age; or that of a speculator who flourished towards the end of the seventeenth century, and who, however great and transcendent were his powers, was not very profoundly conversant with ecclesiastical history? Shall we listen to a witness who, at one period of his life, bore an unwilling, at least an unprejudiced, testimony to the discipline which had prevailed since the days of the Apostles? or shall we listen to one, who had brooded over ecclesiastical abuses till, probably, the very name of a parson raised in his mind the thoughts of knavery, selfishness, and imposture; and who seems to have regarded Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, as little better than an unprincipled fraternity, engaged in one perpetual conspiracy against the intelligence and the liberty of the human race?

But we have not yet done with the efforts of Locke for the restoration of primitive religious liberty. His biographer has furnished us with another noble and immortal fragment of the philosopher, in defence of Nonconformity, taken from an hitherto unpublished treatise, which seems to have been composed in answer to Stillingfleet's work on the Unreasonableness of Separation. The interest of this subject, Lord King truly remarks, has now passed away. The very name of Locke, however, is almost sufficient to revive it. And, as Lord King has judged it expedient to disturb the deep repose of this once tumultuous question, there is no reason for our declining to meet the spectre, and to address it. It appears, then, that this voice of other days is mainly lifted up in condemnation of a practice, which no one now even thinks of defending, any more than the doctrine of occult qualities, or substantial forms, or nature's abhorrence of a vacuum, or the insane abominations of judicial astrology. To rave against persecution for religious opinions, or any other opinions, sounds to us, at this time of day, very much like declaiming against the divine right of constables, or proving that a royal proclamation is by no means equivalent to a revelation from heaven. But we never can suffer a treatise of the olden time, on this subject, to be produced to the disadvantage of our hierarchy, without reminding the present generation, that the Nonconformists themselves were then quite as urgently in need of illumination on this subject, as that prodigy of despotism, the Established Church. The only difference was, that the separatists were then in a position which seldom fails to disclose, for the time, a glorious apocalypse of the blessings of toleration, and to give a portentous echo to the outcry for liberty of conscience! They were goaded almost to madness by a double privation; they were deprived of religious freedom themselves, and they were likewise deprived of

the power to invade the religious freedom of others. Every one now perceives, with Locke, and other great men, that the true and genuine remedy for the alternate gravamina of persecuted parties, was a liberal and enlightened system of indulgence. But every one does *not* perceive that the clamours of the oppressed religionists, in those days, very much resemble the virtuous protestations, uttered in later times, by the patriots who happen to be out of place, against the jobs, and the sinecures, and other multifarious corruptions, practised by the patriots who happen to be in place! Now, we hold it be extremely important that every one should thoroughly comprehend, and steadily remember this: for if they do not, their understandings and their feelings will always be at the mercy of persons who, like Lord King, are incessantly and busily reviving the memory of these matters, in order that they may generously divert the public indignation from every other quarter, and direct it against the head of old mother Church; as if she alone were the parent of every error and every prejudice hostile to the happiness and improvement of mankind.

We have already noticed the benevolent intimations of his Lordship to this effect; and the bottle-holding zeal with which he is pleased to iterate and to patronize the complaints of his distinguished kinsman against the *parliamentary* establishment, and the confederacy of Church and State against the sacred cause of religious and civil liberty. It is true that he affects to speak with reference to evil days which are now gone by. But it is absolutely impossible to mistake his intentions. Nothing but downright fatuity can keep any mortal in doubt, that his design is to perpetuate the feeling of aversion and distrust towards the national hierarchy. That such is his purpose is irresistibly clear from the whole tenor of his observations, illustrated as they notoriously are by his senatorial labours in the same holy cause. We are quite certain that he would never think of disclaiming his persuasion, that the religious establishment is still little better than a splendid abuse, adverse to the expansion of the public mind, and the only remaining obstacle to consummate liberty of conscience. Now we feel ourselves strongly impelled by these obvious views and convictions of his Lordship, to appeal to a witness, quite as much in love with religious freedom as he, or his kinsman Locke, could be, for their lives. The man we allude to is old John Newton: a name, which some of our readers, perhaps, may start to find introduced into the pages of a journal like this. John Newton, it may be said, is no authority for churchmen. And this may be very true. But it is also true that he may be a very good authority against the enemies of the Church. No man, perhaps, was ever more free from a bigoted

attachment to the national establishment, or from a slavish veneration for the episcopal government. But this is, precisely, the very best of all possible reasons for referring to his opinions and his observation. He was, originally, as is well known, a seaman, and a very profligate and godless one. But the truth at last seized him, and smote him down: and then the fire got into his very bones, and gave him no rest till he could preach the faith of which he once endeavoured to make havoc. He was much connected with Dissenters, and was very near becoming a minister in some Dissenting community. At last, however, *after diligent reading and inquiry*, he sought and obtained orders in the Church, to the great scandal and horror of all the sons of Nonconformity. Their consternation cannot have been much assuaged by four letters which he drew up and published, under the title of *Apolo-gia*, for the purpose of explaining his reasons for the step he had taken; a step which by many was, probably, regarded as little short of the guilt of apostasy. And what does the reader imagine was one of the leading motives which induced him to fix upon the Established Church?—Why, neither more nor less than the mildness and liberality of its administration, its abundant opportunities of usefulness, and the independence of action and of speech which it offered, beyond any other *connection* with which he was acquainted! Among his reasons for *not* being a Dissenter he expressly and prominently mentions this—"Because I highly value the right of private judgment, and my liberty as a man, and as a Christian!"—"I cannot"—he repeats—"become a Dissenter till I am weary of my liberty." Once more—"I loved liberty, and therefore gave a preference to the Church of England, believing I might, in that situation, exercise my ministry with the most freedom. I have made the experiment and have no reason to repent of it."—Listen to this, my Lord King! We have here the declaration of a most honest and conscientious man, and, withal, of a remarkably acute, inquiring, able, and intelligent man; and,—what is most essential to our immediate object,—the declaration of one, who sucked in no bigotry with his mother's milk; who had not been trained and drilled, from his youth upwards, in our mystery of iniquity and *worldly-mindedness*; who was in search of that communion which might furnish the amplest liberty of conscience, together with the most extended sphere of ministerial usefulness; and who, moreover, to the very last, retained many of the elements of Dissenterism in his composition. For our purposes, therefore, his is a testimony beyond all possible suspicion. Listen to it, then, my Lord, and pause, whenever you may be tempted to revive the stupid clamour

against the illiberality of the Church. Listen to it,—and take it with you, the next time you may be *dispatched* on a visit to the manes of your illustrious kinsman. And should you, afterwards, venture to appear again among the haunts of reasonable men, you will bring with you from him, we will venture to pronounce, a solemn prohibition against the folly and the malice of stigmatizing the Church, as if she were still the nurse of bigotry and prejudice; as if hers was the sanctuary under whose altar the fury of persecution is still lurking, ready to spring forth, and to drag down the independence of man's immortal spirit, and to fix it once more in the dust!

Nothing but the length to which the present article is running withholds us from transcribing copiously from this most interesting and intelligent publication. There are, however, one or two passages in particular, to which we cannot forbear,—(by way of digression)—to call the attention of the "*Episcopalian*," who has given to the public so odious a picture of the servile condition of the Church of England. Old John Newton saw and felt nothing of this slavery: or, at all events, it appeared to him a service of perfect freedom, compared with the more galling bondage of all other religious connections. "I am bound"—says he—"by no regulations but what I myself approve; and within those boundaries I do as I please, no man forbidding or controlling me." He then proceeds to affirm, that the ministers of the Church are more independent than any others: more independent of their brethren—more independent of their people: "They"—he says—"who best know human nature, are best qualified to judge how far the professed *independence* of your Churches may be abated by the influence of *connection*; and whether a *Board* of Ministers may not be occasionally felt by those who pity us for being subordinate to a *Bench* of Bishops." The *Episcopalian* has compared the English clergy to the soldiery of Persia who were driven into the field by the lash! Now, what says John Newton of the ministers of nonconformity? "I own"—says he—"I have, on some occasions, been led to compare your ministers to a company of soldiers in their exercise, where every one must move in a prescribed line, keep the same pace, and make the same motion as the rest, on pain of being treated as refractory. Ministers in the Establishment know nothing of these restraints. We profess the same leading principles and aims, but each man acts, singly and individually, for himself." The *Episcopalian* has loudly reprobated the degradation suffered by the Church from secular interference. This, however, is precisely one of the particulars in which John Newton

perceives a marked advantage enjoyed by the Establishment above all Dissenting societies. "The constitution of your Churches"—he adds—"which you suppose the only one agreeable to the Scripture, appears to me to be faulty, in giving a greater power, than the Scripture authorises, to the people"—(that is, to the body of the congregation as distinguished from the ministers). . . . "The effects of this *supreme* power lodged in the people, and the unsanctified spirit in which it has been exercised, has been often visible in the divisions and subdivisions which have crumbled large societies into separate handfuls. And to this, I am afraid, more than to the spread of a work of grace, may be ascribed, in many instances, the great increase in the number of your Churches within these few years! Now, in the Establishment we know but little of these difficulties." Such is the testimony of John Newton. He knew Nonconformity well. He knew it in all varieties, in all its caprices, in all its secrets and mysteries. He knew it ten thousand times better than it can possibly be known either to Lord King or to the Episcopalian. And the result of his knowledge and experience is, that the system of the Establishment,—(connected as it is with the State, and slandered as it is by some of its own servants)—is a system of most blessed liberality, and freedom, compared with any other form of religious association in the empire!

Strange as it may possibly appear, we protest that we have sometimes been almost tempted to wish that *parts* at least of this *Apologia* could be printed and circulated as a church tract. We say *parts*, because there are some portions of it which it is impossible for a sound Churchman to approve or recommend, and which betray a good deal of that crudity which often adheres to the minds of self-disciplined and self-educated men. But, with these exceptions, we know of no publication better adapted to the purpose of disabusing the public ear and heart of the miserable and worthless cant, which, even at this day, is often prodigally vented, for the purpose of connecting with the Established Church the notions both of despotism and servility; of subjection endured for the infamous wages of a licence to enslave the mind and conscience of the public. We repeat our conviction that, if Locke were now living, he would despise this wretched and vulgar calumny. He would deprecate the exhumation of his old opinions and principles, merely in order that they might be arrayed against the National Church of the present day. He would now agree with honest John Newton, that an "established form of religious profession, with a full and free toleration for all who think they can serve God more acceptably on a different plan, is the most desirable and promising constitution for pre-

serving the rights of conscience, and for promoting the welfare of souls; that the Church of England, as by law established, has been upon the whole, and will be, a blessing to the nation; and that its preservation is an effect of the wise and gracious Providence of the Great Head of the Church Universal."

But to return for a moment to the speculations of Locke on the subject of ecclesiastical polity and discipline. One would imagine that the *Historian of the Constitution* had been allowed to have access to this fragment in defence of Nonconformity; for it contains precisely one of his own suggestions. It puts forth a complaint that the ceremonies, which were retained to conciliate the Catholics, were not abandoned to edify the Sectarians; a recommendation which, to us, really seems to involve the very consummation of all despicable inconstancy and inconsistency. At the Reformation certain moderate and decent solemnities were retained in the Church, which, after a time, were found to afflict the consciences and to disturb the devotions of the men of Geneva; and the very first qualms manifested by these fastidious personages, we are told, ought to have been the signal for casting off these exterior "lendings;" and exhibiting religion almost in rags and nakedness! In the time of Charles II. the same outcry was revived; and it now receives the high authority of Locke, who tells us, in plain terms, that these fragments of the old superstition had ceased to serve any good purpose, and therefore should have been sacrificed, in order to win and pacify those simple and godly men, who desired to worship solely in spirit and in truth. Did it never occur to Locke that in the change or the retrenchment of externals the Church must stop somewhere? that, without exposing herself to universal contempt, she cannot be constantly altering the visible fashion of her worship to suit the varying caprices of self-willed and discontented men? that, if she is to consult edification, she must think of edifying her own people as well as those who had deserted her communion, or who, without openly deserting it, were in correspondence with its enemies? that if there were some who thought the service of God encumbered by useless remnants of Popery, there were a vastly greater number who felt that more of the outward beauty of holiness might have been usefully and beneficially retained? and, lastly, did it never enter his head that the spirit of faction is perpetually mixing itself with religious feelings and prejudices, and that the vice of illiberality is very far from being monopolized by the Church? What would he have said if certain of his own *pacific* Christians had begun to complain of the bareness, and the sordidness, and the coldness, and the desultoriness, of the scheme of worship which he devised for their community? and had re-

commended that the brethren should be gratified by a departure from this extreme simplicity? Would he have consented to *edify* them by such a reformation? Would he not have told them that a religious society, appearing to undergo a perpetual series of transformations, must at last become an object of scorn to the whole world? that it could minister neither to the edification of man nor to the glory of God; and that, if a part of the community would persist in eternally clamouring for change, they must even be cut off from the rest of the body as contentious and unsound? Would it be possible to give any other answer than this to the restless and revolutionary members of any religious society on earth? Why, then, we ask again and again—why is the Church to be assailed with reproach for declining a principle of concession which the obscurest Dissenting connection would most assuredly reject with disdain?

To the manifold evils, however, of the sectarian spirit Locke appears to have been totally blind. He had contemplated the abuses of power till he got into the habit of thinking that every thing, without exception, was to be done by reason, and nothing by authority. In the formation of the moral character he seems to have had no violent objection to discipline—and discipline too of a sufficiently austere complexion. But in the training of the intellectual powers, and in their application to subjects of difficulty and importance, he was almost morbidly impatient of trammels. He had meditated on the wrongs inflicted on the liberties, and the understandings, and the spirits of men, by autocrats, and priests, and schoolmen, until he insensibly contracted an aversion and a contempt for every thing established; for established opinions—and established doctrines—and established forms—and established churches. And hence it was, that he became liberal and *rational* in his principles of Scriptural interpretation, and equally liberal and *rational* in his notions of a perfect religious polity. One thing, however, is truly remarkable—in spite of his dislike for any system which prescribed metes and boundaries to religious persuasion, he never felt himself driven to a formal separation from the National Communion: a tolerably cogent proof that its restraints were not, even in those days, so violently galling as to excoriate a healthy conscience. It may be admitted that terms of religious communion should be as large and liberal as may be compatible with order, consistency, and integrity of doctrine; and whether or not those terms are framed with a due regard to all these objects, is a question always fairly open to free but temperate discussion. We cannot, however, very easily imagine that the principles of liberality, either in point of discipline or doctrine, can have been very grievously violated by a system

which allowed an honest and independent thinker, such as Locke, to retain his connection with the Church, and his religious opinions together. And we will not be deterred, even by his mighty and overwhelming name, from intimating a suspicion, that his outcry against Articles and Creeds was, more than he himself probably imagined, the symptom of a temper, which is somewhat pleasurably excited by the irritation of a good and serviceable grievance. Of this grievance, however, were he now living, the complete triumph of his own principles would most effectually deprive him. He would find himself in possession of an unmo- lested retreat into the wildest and most devious regions of Non-conformity, together with the blessed privilege of incessant and interminable migration.

Of Locke, as the reformer of metaphysical philosophy, it may, perhaps, be thought superfluous and almost impertinent to speak. His place in the Temple of Science has now long been fixed. The pedestal on which his statue is erected is immoveable as the foundations of the earth. It would be the extremity of absurd presumption to labour, at this day, for the purpose of ascertaining his precise position among the worthies who have aided the progress of the human intellect. But who can hear his name pronounced without feeling himself almost irresistibly summoned to a rapid excursion over a part, at least, of that ocean of inquiry, the depths and shoals of which have been sounded by his mighty and unwearied mind? It is scarcely possible to represent his peculiar merits in language more masterly and precise than that of a judge most eminently gifted with the power of appreciating his benefactions to the intellectual world. We need hardly mention the name of Sir J. Mackintosh, from whose estimate of those benefactions, as here presented to us by Lord King, we select the following passages:—

“ Before Locke there was no example in intellectual philosophy of an ample enumeration of facts, collected and arranged for the express purpose of legitimate generalization. . . He is content to collect the laws of thought, as he would have collected those of any other subject, from observation alone. . . Few books have contributed more (than his *Essay*) to rectify prejudice, to undermine established errors, to diffuse a just mode of thinking, to excite a fearless spirit of inquiry, and yet to contain it within the boundaries which nature has prescribed to the human understanding. An amendment of the general habits of thought is, in most parts of knowledge, an object as important as even the discovery of new truths, though it is not so palpable, nor, in its nature, so capable of being estimated by superficial observers. In the mental and moral world, which scarcely admit of any thing that can be called discovery, the correction of the intellectual habit is probably the greatest service which can be rendered to science. In this respect the merit of Locke

is unrivalled. . . If Bacon first discovered the rules by which knowledge is improved, Locke has most contributed to make mankind at large observe them. He has done most, though often by remedies of silent and almost insensible operation, to cure those mental distempers which obstructed the adoption of those rules; and thus led to that general diffusion of a healthy and vigorous understanding, which is at once the greatest of all improvements, and the instrument by which all other improvements must be accomplished. . . If Locke made few discoveries, Socrates made none; yet both did more for the improvement of the understanding, and not less for the progress of knowledge, than the authors of the most brilliant discoveries."

It is somewhat amusing, now that the fame of Locke is irrevocably established, to compare these words with the light and somewhat contemptuous language of his great contemporary Leibnitz; who says, that "Locke has a subtilty, and an address, and a sort of superficial metaphysics, and that there really are some things in his writings by no means despicably explained." Let us now reflect on the different posthumous condition of these two men; the one occupying a niche in the same edifice in which the memory of Newton is enshrined; the other remembered chiefly as a man whose prodigious powers were wasted in wild and almost fruitless expeditions into all the realms of human inquiry. The mind of Leibnitz, under the incessant exactions of his adventurous curiosity, must have been in a condition somewhat resembling that of Ariel, tasked to do his master's bidding in almost every region of the creation:

"To answer his best pleasure, be't to fly,
To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride
On the curled clouds. . .
. to tread the ooze of the salt deep;
To run upon the sharp wind of the north;
To do him business in the veins o' the earth
When it is baked with frost."

And the result of all these audacious enterprises was to show, by a most splendid failure, that no human energies are potent or versatile enough to explore all the provinces of the intellectual empire. Even Leibnitz himself, mighty master as he was of this "rough magic," must, one would imagine, have been at the last almost compelled to feel, that he would have done better to break his staff, and to drown his book, than to venture on excursions too various and too vast for sublunary powers.

There was another somewhat invidious criticism into which Leibnitz was betrayed, in common with many others of his day, on the intellectual theory of Locke. He represented him as an advocate of the pernicious doctrine, *Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit in sensu*; a misrepresentation which is almost redeemed

by the masterly and vigorous brevity with which he supplies the true correction and limitation of the maxim, by adding *nisi ipse intellectus*. This limitation, however, Locke himself would, in all probability, have admitted without the least reserve. Expressions and passages may doubtless be found in his Essay, which, considered separately, and without reference to the whole tenor of his speculations, might fairly lead to the conclusion that in his opinion, all knowledge is to be traced to mere sensation; and, consequently, that what are usually called purely intellectual phenomena, are exalted to a dignity which does not properly belong to them, when we ascribe to them a distinct and more noble origin. If Leibnitz, however, had given more than a superficial attention to the disquisitions of our countryman, he must inevitably have perceived, that the limitation we have mentioned, however admirably expressed by himself, was almost superfluous by way of correction to the views of Locke; who has repeatedly and clearly distinguished the province of sensation from that of what he calls reflection; and in one passage has expressly told us, that "external objects furnish the mind with the ideas of sensible qualities, and that the mind furnishes the understanding with ideas of its own operations."

At the present day, no one, who thinks for five minutes on the subject, can be at a loss to perceive how it happened that Locke was misunderstood. It is possible, indeed, that he did not *always* with entire distinctness understand himself. He saw two things: first, that the operations of sense, and the operations of pure intellect, are entirely and essentially distinct from each other; and yet, secondly, that without the previous excitement and exercise of the senses, the mental powers would never come into action. But as this view of the matter took a middle course between two received systems of opinion, it is not wonderful that, in the exposition of it, he should be betrayed into some ambiguities of expression which would alarm one class of thinkers, and give encouragement to their adversaries.

It may, perhaps, be not altogether superfluous, even at the present day, to make this question familiar by supposing a case. Let us, then, imagine that an infant were born in perfect health, and with all its faculties, both corporeal and intellectual, in precisely the same degree of perfection in which they are ever known to exist at that period of life. And then let us suppose that, a very short time after its birth, its powers of sensation were entirely destroyed by disease, or any other cause, the mere vital and locomotive faculties remaining totally unimpaired. Is it conceivable that the mental capacities of a human being remaining in this condition should ever develope themselves? Constituted as

man is—a compound of body and of spirit, associated by an intimate but mysterious union—can we believe it possible that the higher qualities should expand into strength and activity, while the lower and instrumental ones were buried and suppressed? Our mechanical organization is the apparatus, by means of which the soul is ordained to hold communion with the external world. Can we, then, believe, that the immortal spirit is to be excited, in this state of existence, to any consciousness of its powers, so long as this medium of communication is, as it were, hermetically sealed? Can we, in a word, persuade ourselves that, if the mind of Newton himself had been originally imprisoned in the body of an oyster, it would ever have been awakened even to a perception of the unworthiness of its tenement?

Now, in all this, when superficially considered, and especially when presented to our attention for the first time, there is, undoubtedly, no trifling temptation to the belief that sensation is the only *source* of human knowledge. If we were born without corporeal senses we should live without thought, and our existence would, probably, be reduced to something of no more dignity and intelligence than that of a polypus. And hence we might, naturally enough, be seduced into the suspicion that the origin of our perceptions is, exclusively, to be sought for in the corporeal organs. A more profound examination, however, will soon satisfy us that, when once the mental powers are called into action, by the perceptions introduced through the organs of sense, they may begin to discover materials of knowledge which sense alone never could supply. The eye and the ear, for instance, may convey impressions to the mind which will stimulate it to the exercise of its own peculiar faculties. The phenomena thus disclosed will inevitably be followed by thought. But the mind can never rest here. It will soon be irresistibly impelled to go further, to employ its activity upon the phenomena of thought itself, and to explore the mystery of its own capacities and operations. But for the excitement of the senses, the mind would probably have slept; but, being once awakened, the world of sense, and the world of spirit, will each of them become the scene of its investigations and discoveries.

All this, it can hardly be doubted, was perceived by Locke, when he divided the possessions of the mind into the two grand provinces of sensation and reflection. He would, surely, have abjured the notion that the human intellect is conversant about nothing but the qualities of material objects, made known to it through the medium of the bodily mechanism. Such, however, is his occasional laxity of expression, that it conferred on him, in the estimation of some, the bad eminence of a patron to

the theory of Gassendi and Hobbes. He was extolled for giving immoveable firmness to the doctrine, that our knowledge not only begins in sensation, but is solely derived from it. This was represented as his grand achievement. The slanderous encomium has subsequently been echoed by the missionaries of a reptile and earthly philosophy; and Locke has been claimed as the father of a school which has laboured to revive the principles of Epicurus,* and to show that the intellectual distinction between men and brutes, is purely the result of a difference in their organization;—a school which has the infamy of degrading the science of metaphysics, and lowering the dignity of human nature.

We have already intimated that Locke may have been occasionally betrayed into language apparently favourable to these perversions, by the nature of the opinions he desired to correct. It was the persuasion of Des Cartes that ideas are coeval with the mind, and actually in existence there previously to the operation of the senses. Now, it is by no means difficult to understand, how—(while labouring to show, in opposition to this theory, that without sensation there would absolutely be no such thing as reflection)—a man might easily fall upon phrases and statements, which seemed to assign solely to the physical organs the office of supplying the intellects with its furniture and its embellishments. In an evil hour, however, Locke happened to blunder upon the illustration of the *tabula rasa*. In order to indicate the total absence of innate *ideas*, or innate principles, or anything innate, from the human mind, he unfortunately took up his parable, and likened it to a sheet of blank paper, ready to be scribbled and defaced by the finger of folly or vice, or to receive the fairest characters and richest *illuminations* from the hand of wisdom or of virtue. Never, perhaps, in the annals of philosophy or literature, did luckless simile work such mischief and such confusion, —and all, probably, without meaning the least harm in the world! The figure of speech might have been respectable and innocent enough in a popular essay, designed to illustrate the extreme facility with which impressions are communicated in early life. But it made its appearance in a grave, severe, and profound treatise: and thus the rhetoric was converted into doctrine: and in that shape it has just produced the same sort of evil which rhetoric converted into doctrine has sometimes produced in theology. It went forth, and gave a prodigious impulse to the notion that man comes into the world without anything in his nature which stamps him as a responsible agent. A creature, it was urged, who is launched into life in a state of profound original neutrality as to

* Πᾶς ὁ λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων ἔρτηται . . . ἐπίνοιαι πᾶσαι ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων γεγῆνασι. Diog. Laert. in Epicuro, § 31, 32. p. 616, 617. Ed. Meibom.

good or evil, can have but a very doubtful title to the character of a moral being! Virtue or vice must to him be little better than a name. In the formation of his moral habits, he must, solely and entirely, be the creature of accident. Whether the blank paper be filled with blots and scratches, or whether it be impressed with the *line and the precept* of righteousness and holiness, all must be ascribed to the caprices of fortune. There can be no more justice in blaming a man for being a scoundrel, than for being a slave or a leper. If the casualties are against him, how is he to help himself? How is he to guard himself against the infection of vice, any more than he is to guard himself against the feverish miasmata of the district in which he happens to be born, or bred? How can he be chargeable with the want of a healthy constitution of mind, any more than with the want of a sound constitution of body? Such are the doctrines which have gone forth into the world under the abused patronage of Locke's theory respecting the want of innate ideas and principles, fortified as it was by the authority of this most calamitous metaphor of the *tabula rasa*,—the blank sheet of paper!

But the disastrous effects of this infelicitous speculation have not been confined to those licentious schools in which the mystery of iniquity and corruption has been constantly at work. Nothing could be more naturally expected than that the atmosphere of such regions should suppress or neutralize every thing of healthful tendency, and convert into active poison every thing of dubious efficacy. But the misfortune is, that the element has invaded the sanctuary of minds whose soundness and strength ought to have instantly repelled it. We positively know of few things more melancholy in the whole history of moral science, than the fact, that the doctrine in question was able to pervert an intellect of such power and energy as that of Paley. It is scarcely possible for us to express our sense of the length and breadth, the height and depth, of our obligations to that original and independent mind. But exactly in proportion to our estimate of those obligations, is the dejection with which we contemplate his surrender of himself to a system so utterly unworthy of his powers. We scarcely recollect a more portentous eclipse of a mighty and luminous understanding than that which is exhibited in his illustration of his principles by the affair of Caius Toranius, and his appeal to the moral insensibility of the wild man, Peter. It is beyond all measure astonishing, that such an understanding should have been deluded by an argument, which would prove that man is not a locomotive animal, because a human being confined, from his infancy, in a cell of six feet by four, would be found at the

age of boyhood to be well nigh paralytic! Such an aberration of judgment is almost enough to degrade, for a time, a capacity of the highest order to the level of perhaps the most incurably wrong head in the British empire,—that of Mr. Owen, of Lanark, whose principle it is, that man is neither more nor less than just what circumstances make him, and, accordingly, that, in our estimate of man, the notions of merit or demerit must be absolutely excluded.

Whatever might be their theoretical doctrine, or their retinue of metaphors and illustrations, it is needless to say that both Locke and Paley would indignantly renounce all such abominable results as these. For the apparent obliquities of Locke, however, there was obviously much more excuse than for those of the very powerful thinker of our own times. In the days of Locke, the philosophy of the mind was in a state of transition from the reign, or rather from the anarchy, of wild speculation, to the safety and stability of the inductive method. In nothing, we apprehend, is this more strongly indicated, than in the unsteadiness of his application of the word *idea*. We suspect that if he himself were here, to be rigidly cross-examined as to the sense he affixed to that word, he would soon find himself involved in inextricable self-contradiction. To this day it seems unsettled, whether he understood it in a figurative or a strictly philosophical acceptation. In many places, doubtless, he appears to use this word purely to signify the operation of the mind in thinking. But in other passages, it seems irresistibly clear, that he considered ideas as things distinct from mere mental operations or impressions. “The mind,” he says, “cannot know things but through the intervention of ideas; our knowledge, therefore, is real only so far as there is a conformity between our ideas and the reality of things.” And again:—“By idea I understand whatever is meant by phantasm, notion, species, or whatever the mind can be employed about in thinking.” If we recollect right, he somewhere asserts that these phantasms, or images, which are the immediate objects on which the mind is employed, must somehow or other be produced by impulse; and he most undoubtedly speaks of our sensations as originating in the different degrees and modes of motion, produced in our animal spirits, variously agitated by external objects.* Now all this,

* Another relic of the old aboriginal nonsense, which metaphysicians used to talk in ancient days, is to be found in B. xi. c. 33, where Locke says, that “habits are *trains* of motion in the animal spirits, &c. &c.” Uncle Toby would probably have likened them to *trains* of artillery; and we do not know that, in this instance, he would be much the worse philosopher of the two! It is impossible to reflect on the inside of many a metaphysical brain in those days without remembering another unrivalled illustration of

though vilely perplexing and absurd, strikes us as nothing more than what might fairly be expected in the state of metaphysical science as it was found by Locke. Descartes had at that time pretty well succeeded in expelling the sensible and intelligible species of the Peripatetic school; but still took it for granted that we perceive not objects themselves, but only ideas or images of them. The ingenious Dr. Robert Hook was not satisfied with this vague account of the matter. While others were fumbling at the questions—"how we came by our ideas—of what stuff they were made—whether they were born with us—or whether we picked them up afterwards as we went along—or whether we did it in frocks—or not till we got into breeches"—he rushed at once into the human sensorium itself; and there he had the satisfaction of finding an ample supply of appropriate and substantial materials for the fabrication of ideas! The ideas of sight, he reports, are formed of a substance resembling very thin shavings of phosphorus or transparent stone; ideas of sound, of a very subtle and elastic material, resembling glass or, peradventure, catgut; and he gravely calculates that the soul may possibly fabricate some hundreds of these ideas *per diem*. As she finishes her work she thrusts it off, to a greater distance from the centre of the brain, in order to make room for more work: so that, at last, there is a complete spiral chain of ideas, coiled up like the main spring of a watch, one extremity of which is the idea last formed, and issues from the central point in the intellectual laboratory.† Such was the scheme solemnly propounded in a course of lectures on light, by an acute and distinguished member of the Royal Society of London! (who, however, does not inform us how the glut, arising from an indefinite accumulation of this manufacture, is ultimately to be disposed of.) It is not, therefore, very astonishing, that Locke, with speculations such as these before him, should be unable completely to disentangle his mind from the intricacy and ambiguity which then enveloped the phenomena of thought: that he should be unprepared to state confidently, even to himself, whether the mind is immediately occupied with corporeal or immaterial objects, or with something of so filmy and ethereal a nature as to be midway between both. Still less surprising is it, that the very notion of such representative phantasms should confirm his belief that the mind comes into this world in a state of the most perfect neutrality and vacancy. If ideas be truly representatives of things,

that worthy's. Think of the interior of a human cranium resembling a smoke-jack!—"the funnel unswept, and the ideas whirling round and round in it, all obfuscated and darkened over with fuliginous matter."

† See Reid's *Intell. Powers*, vol. i. p. 155. Ed, 1808.

they could not, of course, exist in the mind previously to its intercourse with the originals: and if, without their intervention, there could be no thought, it was equally obvious, that the mind must be unprovided with innate principles.

For the aberrations of Paley it is more difficult to account. The system of idealism can hardly have helped to mislead him; for when he wrote, it was, we believe, almost universally discarded in this country. Men, at that time, understood pretty well the real merits of the question relative to innate principles of any kind. It was perceived, indeed, that, in rigorous exactness of speech, no principles or notions can be said to be born with us. A wolf is born without any conception of carnage. A vulture is born without any notion of carrion. A human infant is born without any conception of milk or pap. But, then, they are born with a capacity for very rapidly acquiring those notions; and it is most certain that they will acquire them, unless they are placed under circumstances which make the acquisition impossible. And thus it is with regard to higher perceptions. It may be said that a human infant is born without any moral sense; and the proposition is true, if nothing more be meant by it than this, that he comes into the world without the faintest conception, ready-formed, of any difference between right and wrong. But it is *not* true that he is born without a moral sense, if by moral sense we are to understand a capacity, which, when developed, will enable him to perceive moral distinctions; a capacity, too, which will infallibly develope itself, unless exposed to circumstances and influences fatally adverse to its expansion. To deny that man has an innate moral sense, because a brutalized and solitary savage might look with indifference on treachery and parricide, is just as absurd as it would be to deny that man has innate reasoning and intellectual powers, because the same solitary savage might appear, in many respects, to be little better than an idiot.

We are mainly indebted to certain of the Scottish school of metaphysicians for better notions respecting both the moral and the intellectual powers of man. The reform they have helped to effect may, perhaps, be attended with its own peculiar dangers. They, possibly, may have been rash in extending too widely the range of internal senses, and native faculties, and instinctive determinations; and thus they may have multiplied our temptations to confound our own prejudices and errors with the responses of an oracle planted in our hearts. It is not improbable that the apprehension of such abuses may have strengthened Locke in his hostility to the doctrine of *innate*, or, as they rather should be called, *connatural* principles. He may have dreaded to see men

arraying their own prepossessions, and their own feelings, and even their own caprices, against the highest interests of their species, and fancying that they were obeying the dictates of an internal and infallible monitor. No friend of mankind will ever wish to see these apprehensions entirely dismissed; but neither can any friend of mankind desire the revival of a doctrine which strips our nature of its highest glory and safeguard. Whatever may be the hazard of too much reliance on the moral constitution of our species, it is absolutely insignificant when compared with the mischief of abandoning the high ground of an internal perception of right, and explaining away all natural principles, whether practical or speculative.

It is, at all events, one merit of the Scottish school, that it has powerfully assisted to expel the system of idealism from our philosophy. The very word *idea* is now almost as entirely ruined as the word *whiskers* was ruined at the court of the Queen of Navarre. It is nearly banished from all good writing—from all writing, at least, which aims at much vigour and precision. Whether the ideal doctrine has still a refuge in France we are not confidently able to say. We cannot pretend to much acquaintance with the present state of metaphysical science in that country. We have, indeed, heard it said, that they affect to deplore that England now produces no great metaphysicians. Whether this is the gracious language of compassionate superiority we will not undertake to pronounce. One thing, however, we do know, that no less a person than D'Alembert has noticed that tenacity of opinions in science for which his countrymen have always been distinguished; and which he, whimsically enough, ascribes—by no means to the vanity which loves not to unlearn—but to a constitutional love of *enjoyment*, which is unwilling to sacrifice the delight of hard-earned knowledge! As an instance of this tenacity, whatever may be the true cause of it, we may produce the remarkable fact that by the time Cartesian vortices were exploded in England, they were adopted in France, and not till then. We know, too, that a celebrated metaphysician of our own country* scrupled not to pronounce the French to be fifty years behindhand in the philosophy of intellect; that it was about the middle of the eighteenth century, when the system of Locke was fashionable in the circles of Paris, by whom it was abused to the vilest purposes, and compelled “to act the earthy and abhorred commands” of their Epicurean wisdom. On the other hand, those who then shrunk from this pernicious licence of speculation, still remained steadfast in the faith of Des Cartes and Malebranche; and, we believe, that even at the latter end of the eighteenth cen-

* D. Stewart.

tury, their schools actually continued to teach, that we bring with us into the world a complete apparatus of ideas, distinct from the mind itself, the existence of which was previous to sensation, and wholly independent of it!

The seeds of the more licentious philosophy of France, it is notorious, had been originally scattered by Montaigne and Rochefoucault. The doctrine that sensation is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all knowledge, and that moral qualities and affections are not indigenous to our nature, was first spread abroad in the shape of loose and striking aphorisms. These were afterwards wrought up into the form and symmetry of philosophical systems; and the name of Locke was employed to give authority and solidity to the work of darkness! It is absolutely necessary to rescue the name of our countryman from such desecration, and to disclaim, on his behalf, this abominable conspiracy against the virtue and the dignity of man. We repeat, however, that we are, at present, ignorant, whether or not the philosophers of France have, at length, abandoned this pestilent perversion. We know not whereabouts they are on their march of metaphysical discovery, or what may be their pretensions to lament over the degeneracy and feebleness of the English schools. For ourselves, we cannot help suspecting that, if metaphysical science has of late languished in this country, it is partly because there has been unusual activity in pursuits which promise much brighter success, and, partly, because Englishmen have *discovered* that we are pretty nearly arrived at the limits of *discovery*, or rather, perhaps, that this is a province in which *discovery*, in the proper sense of the word, is well nigh hopeless. Our most distinguished philosophers do not hesitate to avow, that the success of metaphysical research during the eighteenth century, has been next to nothing; and we shall have some difficulty in believing (till we are better informed) that the work of discovery has been very materially forwarded in France. For what reliance can we reasonably place in the steadiness and sagacity of conductors, who seem for so long a period (unless they are strangely belied) to have known scarcely any medium between an extravagant abuse of the principles of Locke, and an obstinate adherence to those ancient and obsolete doctrines, against which Locke had directed the powers of his robust and intrepid mind?

Of all the lapses of judgment with which Locke is chargeable, none perhaps is so unaccountable as the notion to which we have above slightly alluded, that morality may be converted into an exact science. Reid has examined this curious fancy pretty much at length; but it is needless to expose it. It is, evidently, what,

in familiar phrase, would be called a *crotchet*; and it is difficult to imagine how it should have found its way into an understanding of such singular rectitude. Can any human being, with undoubted pretensions to sanity, be found at this day to aver his belief that, what Locke imagined to be practicable, will ever be done while the world lasts? We may depend upon this—that, if it be possible, and in the slightest degree useful, it most infallibly will be done. The human intellect is at present in a condition to leave nothing untried. We have actually seen an attempt, and a very ingenious attempt too, to exhibit the leading principles of political economy in the shape of algebraic formulæ; but, nevertheless, it would be positive evidence of lunacy to talk seriously of political economy as ever likely to take its place among the exact sciences. Something of the same kind may possibly be attempted in the science of ethics. But can any mortal persuade himself that the thing will ever be successfully achieved? There is nothing within the limits of human power that we might not almost venture to anticipate the accomplishment of in the course of another century or two. The time may come when men will look upon steam-carriages, that will travel no faster than thirty miles *an hour*, with as much contempt as they now think of the

“ pack-horses
And hollow pampered jades of Asia
That cannot go but thirty miles *a day*!”

The time may, likewise, come when the powers of analysis shall be sufficiently exalted and refined even to furnish a solution of the problem of the three bodies, in its utmost generality. But, among the prodigies of human ingenuity and perseverance which may astonish future generations, who would ever presume to reckon on a course of lectures on the *Philosophiæ Moralis Principia Mathematica*?

We have left ourselves no space for much remark on Locke's *Treatise of Civil Government*, the object of which was to establish and consecrate the principles of the Revolution. The first book of this treatise, it is well known, was in answer to Sir R. Filmer, a writer who lived before the Civil War, but whose publications were posthumous. At the present day it is almost insufferably wearisome to examine a serious confutation of his absurdities. Any person who should now gravely maintain that the grant to Adam in *Genesis*, i. 28, meant any thing more than a consignment of the earth, with its creatures and products, to the dominion of man—that Adam, as the grand patriarch of the human race, was invested by divine right with the power of an

universal autocrat—and that subsequent monarchs have derived the same unlimited authority from him—any one who should now propound such principles would be treated merely as a poor harmless visionary. People would no more think of seriously exposing his extravagancies, than they now, actually, think of demolishing the philosophy of Hutcheson, or analysing the reveries of Emmanuel Swedenborg. The case, however, was very different in the time of Locke. The speculations of Filmer were then the text-book with numbers of the high prerogative men; and were out-heroded only by the rant (for such it now appears to us) of Brady; who affirmed, roundly, that Magna Charta, instead of being honoured as the grand muniment of our liberties, ought to be abominated as a rebellious encroachment on the heaven-descended power of the sovereign. It was thought expedient, therefore, that Locke should take this calf, and burn it with fire, and stamp it, and grind it very small, even until it was as small as dust, and should then scatter the dust thereof to the four winds of heaven.

One of the most remarkable passages in the second book of this treatise, is that which relates to the transfer of the elective franchise from decayed places to more populous and wealthy ones. He observes, that foreigners actually stand aghast at our monstrous absurdity in sending two substantial burgesses to the House of Commons to represent the *nomini's umbra* of a departed borough, leaving, at the same time, large and prosperous districts altogether without representation. And he indicates, very plainly, that in his judgment the power of remedying this evil ought to rest with the crown. The executive, he says, has the power of convoking the legislature: and this power is then only exercised in a beneficial and legitimate manner, when the representation is distributed, not with a view to obsolete custom, but with a view to the existing distribution of wealth and population throughout the empire. "This," he contends, "would be, not to set up a new legislative, but to restore the old and true one, and to rectify the disorders which succession of time may have insensibly and inevitably introduced;" and he adds, that "whatever shall be done manifestly for the good of the people and the establishment of the government on its true foundations, is, and always must be, *just prerogative*." He accordingly concludes, that the executive ought to be entrusted with the power to erect new corporations, and therewith new representatives, and of removing the right of representation from place to place, conformably to the vicissitudes of local importance and prosperity. We have here "a fine sound of doctrine," with a vengeance! such as,

in modern days, we suspect, would produce measureless consternation in all good patriots, whether Whig or Tory; so that—

“ their fell of hair

Would, at this dismal treatise, rouse and stir

As life were in it!”

What, however, has become of the prerogative, which once, undoubtedly, belonged to the crown, of conferring the elective franchise upon boroughs at its discretion, we are not very well able to pronounce. It was exercised, we believe, for the last time, in the reign of Charles II.; since that period it has, some how or other, quite disappeared. Though not actually driven from the earth, it has nevertheless taken its flight. It is in the repository which contains many other precious things that are missing upon earth; the patriotism of the Whigs, for instance, and the wisdom of Alderman Wood. And if any minister of the Crown were now to attempt to bring it back, we should suspect that his own wits were about to take wing for the same mysterious region.

But we must bring to a close our meditations on the *Life and Works of Locke*—a name that will ever stand conspicuous among those beacon-lights which Providence hath graciously raised up at intervals, to animate and to guide the human mind in its arduous journeyings over the Alpine regions of knowledge. If we have, at times, spoken somewhat freely of this great and virtuous man, we nevertheless yield to none in admiration of his labours for the improvement and elevation of his species, or in gratitude for the blessings which he so powerfully aided in securing for his country. We should feel ourselves unworthy of the name of Englishmen if we could think of him without feeling our hearts burn within us. Under the chastening control of still more exalted and sacred feelings, we know of nothing more ennobling than the contemplation of those brave spirits, whose fame is identified with the immortal triumphs of human energy, and whose monument is no other than the whole collective fabric of the world's intellectual grandeur. There is, indeed, a salutary humiliation to be derived from the tardiness with which the human powers appear, for a dreary waste of centuries, to have been toiling through the various stages of their discipline; and from the reflection that, in some departments, the period of pupillage has scarcely yet been passed. But there is, also, a generous pride, which may warrantably be indulged, when we think upon the influence of certain vast and capacious minds in advancing the education of the human race, and in effecting its gradual deliverance from prejudice or ignorance. This influence,

indeed, can never be justly estimated without comparing, upon an extended scale, the condition, the attainments, and the prospects of man, at various and distant periods of his history. But if we so estimate it, the spectacle which such a comparison discloses to us is one of almost overpowering magnificence. It is a spectacle in which mighty and unwearied racers are to be seen labouring to keep bright the sacred lamp of human knowledge, and straining to deliver it over, unextinguished, from generation to generation. And, undoubtedly, among the competitors for the honours of that glorious toil, few will be found to have earned their immortality more nobly than our illustrious and intrepid countryman.

ART. II.—*Memoirs of the Life and Times of Daniel De Foe: containing a Review of his Writings, and his opinions upon a variety of important matters, civil and ecclesiastical.* By Walter Wilson, Esq. of the Inner Temple. 3 vols. 8vo. London. Hurst, and Co. 1830. 2l. 2s.

TIME was when to found a new era in History was a work which cost some trouble—and Pericles, Augustus, Alfred, and such other worthies as gave their names to an Age, were but a few bright lights thinly scattered amid the darkness of countless generations. Matters at present are much altered. Every man, like every dog, has his day and his "*Times*;" and each of us lives, as it would seem, chiefly for the purpose of writing his own Life, or of finding some one else to write it for him. There is scarcely a pimp, a fiddler, or a buffoon, who has had the fortune to sit below the salt, at the motley board of some titled spendthrift, who does not think himself authorized to eliminate the stale jests which he has heard repeated at his patron's table, and to found thereon a Memoir of his contemporaries. The floodgates of gossip are unbarred; the dams by which tittle-tattle was once confined within its own broad, shallow, stagnant, and dirty puddles, are broken down; and we sink or swim, in a wide deluge of private Anecdote and petty Historiettes. Every man sees every thing, and tells every thing, connected with the period and the circle wherein he has *flourished*; and with a slight alteration of Juvenal's sense, it may be said, that there is no one among us who has not collected all that he could know, be he politician or player, mediciner or mountebank—

Augur, schanobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit.

The effect of this *pruritus* for secret History is bad enough as it regards contemporary Truth; in the search after which we may

find numerous guides, restraints, and correctives. But it becomes immeasurably worse with respect to bye-gone days, in which these aids, for the most part, are wanting. An inventive writer may throw his reins on the neck of Imagination—a partizan may flesh his rowels in the flanks of Prejudice—a speculator may gallop Hypothesis out of breath—while the simple-hearted reader, mounted on the pillion which adjoins the adventurous saddle, is hurried along, at the pleasure of the impetuous rider, with too much speed to permit him to pay any attention to the several turnings, parish-boundaries, landmarks, and direction-posts on his way: so that when he dismounts in the end, he is dizzy and bewildered; with little recollection of the country through which he has passed, and with absolute ignorance of the stage to which he has been carried.

To quit our metaphor, we most earnestly and seriously deprecate the present ruling passion for substituting individual impressions in the place of general facts. It is by synthesis, rather than by analysis, that the Truth of History is to be elicited. If we split the sunbeam by refraction, every object upon which it plays will be seen under some predominant false hue; give the ray its natural unity again, recombine the scattered pencils of light, and you obtain a just and colourless illumination. That private Memoirs are often the most valuable materials wherewith public History can be framed, no one will be blind enough to deny; but in order that they should possess such value, those by whom they are furnished must be sharers in the great scenes which they describe; must possess intimate acquaintance with the hidden springs which have operated upon the machinery of their times; must be qualified for their task by soundness of judgment, strictness of veracity, uprightness of intention, freedom from party spirit; by honesty, sagacity, penetration, activity, cautiousness, and accuracy. Without this rare combination of excellences, and indeed of many others which we have omitted, the picture which they present will most probably be distorted; and we shall run the hazard of accepting a caricature for a genuine portrait. The *Reminiscences* of Thersites would be little likely to afford an impartial representation of the camp of Agamemnon. From the *Life and Times* of Bathyllus or of Pylades, but very inadequate conceptions could be derived of the policy of Mæcenæ; and Posterity, if it requires satisfactory information concerning the reigns of the third and fourth Georges, must look beyond the Porcupines and the Gridirons, the Journals and the Hebdomadals of the ever-shifting and interminable Cobbett.

The name last mentioned is not a little in unison with the main subject at present before us. If the doctrine of metempsychosis

were true, (and, in spite of better knowledge, Imagination sometimes prompts a fancy that it *is* true,) we could almost persuade ourselves that the spirit which now dwells in Cobbett, once animated De Foe. That is, as far as a large portion of its intellectual, not of its moral, qualities is concerned. The ancient Pamphleteer *commanded* the Pillory; the modern has done no more than repeatedly *deserved* it. The elder, when he was bankrupt, discharged the claims even of rapacious creditors to the uttermost farthing; the younger laughed in the face of those easy friends from whom he had borrowed money, and justified his swindling appropriation of it by a luminous apology. The one believed in a God, and wrote in defence of Religion; the other—but it is more to our purpose to point out their resemblance than their discrepancies. Each strikes us as possessing that singular restlessness of disposition which is never so much in its element as when the waters around it are troubled; which prefers foul weather to sunshine; takes its rides of pleasure in a whirlwind; and even if it cannot “direct the storm” never loses an opportunity of calling it up. Each has the peculiar talent of levelling argument, or what seems to be such, down to the apprehension of the unlettered, so that every ball shall tell by being aimed sufficiently low. In each may be found much cleverness, many shrewd anticipations, and some occasional plain truths, though “dash’d and brew’d with lies.” Coarse and clamorous abuse, arrogant claims to integrity and independence for themselves, intolerant denial of it to all others, bold and unabashed assertions, and disregard of ultimate consequences, so as the immediate object may be obtained, are other divisions of their common stock—a capital upon which each might draw without fear of exhaustion. If these had been the whole of De Foe’s possessions, he would have been as utterly forgotten now as we may venture to predict his successor in the same walk,—the Pythagoras of the former Euphorbus,—most assuredly will be, within six months after his decease. But to these, De Foe added, in the heel of life, an exhibition of inventive power in which he has never yet been rivalled; and while the political incendiary has scarcely left a trace behind, the author of *Robinson Crusoe* belongs to the imperishable portion of our National Literature. For once, the aphorism of our great Bard has been reversed; “the Evil” which De Foe did has not “lived after him,” neither has “the Good” been “interred with his bones.”

Strange to say, however, it is very much with the hope of reviving this Evil, of raking up the dead ashes of smouldering Sectarianism and wholly extinguished Faction, of restoring to De Foe the sinister reputation of a party tool, which has long slumbered with him in the grave, that the volumes now before us

are put together. Mr. Wilson has chosen the name of this writer as a running title, to which he might append a perpetual commentary of Dissent and Liberalism. Of De Foe himself, there is very little to be told; almost every event of his life is narrated upon conjecture, and even the Catalogue of his Works is made out on the same loose principle. But the matters on which he either wrote, or is supposed to have written, afford a copious field for display of hostility to establishments in Church and State; and it is for the sake of traversing this open country that Mr. Wilson has addressed himself to his obscure and ponderous labour. Every thing that a reader of the present day will care to learn concerning De Foe has already been compressed by Mr. Chalmers into seventy octavo pages. Mr. Walter Wilson, by stepping forward as the Champion of "Civil and Religious Liberty," as an "enemy to Persecution," and as a staunch opposer of "political Priests," has already written very nearly 1700, of smaller type and closer printing than is customary with the modern press. Nor is this all—his Preface contains a most portentous threat. We are informed that his "primary matter" extends considerably beyond what is now presented to the Public, and that he may perhaps hereafter offer a separate Work on the literary antagonists of De Foe. "His collections concerning Oldmixon, Tutchin, and Ridpath, are the most considerable, but he has notices of many others, which altogether are sufficient to form a volume." Alas! for the inequality wherewith Fame is apportioned to similar desert! While Bavius and Mævius survive but in a single line, countless tomes of Biography may be destined for the heroes of the *Dunciad*.

Little is known concerning the parentage of De Foe, and Mr. Wilson gravely doubts whether he may claim for him remote affinity with the De Beau-Foes of Warwickshire, an ancient Norman family, whose name, he says, should *perhaps* be more correctly written De Beau-Foy; a name, *probably*, originally bestowed upon them "for some signal act of fidelity from a vassal towards his superior lord." Be this as it may, Daniel, the grandfather of the subject of these Memoirs, a substantial yeoman of Northamptonshire, was content to write himself down without the Norman prefix: and the simple, monosyllabic Foe, by which he was known, sounds in our ears very much as if it were of Chinese origin, and therefore of immeasurable antiquity, far beyond that which can be claimed from any European genealogy. James, the son of Daniel, *probably* a younger son, "was sent to London at a proper age, and placed apprentice with John Levet, citizen and butcher. This trade he afterwards followed upon his own account, in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate." "These are all

the particulars that can be collected of our author's immediate ancestors." The second Daniel was born in his Father's shambles, in 1661. No entry can be found of his Baptism, since his Parents were Non-conformists, *sitting under* the Rev. Samuel Annesley, LL.D. an ejected Presbyterian, to whose ministry *there can be no doubt* they introduced their child. Owing to this connection "his attachment to the cause of Non-conformity was *probably* heightened by the vexations to which its Professors were exposed during the season of his youth. Although we have *no direct evidence* that he was himself a participator in those sufferings, yet *it is not improbable* that his parents were in the number of those who took joyfully the spoiling of their goods that they might maintain the peace of their consciences, and have a title to a better inheritance." "Of the manner in which De Foe passed his early years scarcely any thing is known. *There can be no doubt*, however, that every care was taken both of his education and morals." Not being designed to perpetuate his Father's business, at "fourteen years of age he was placed in an Academy at Newington Green, under the direction of that polite and profound scholar the Rev. Charles Morton, where he had great advantages for learning and a very agreeable society." Of his attainments in this Gymnasium "it is impossible now to speak with any certainty." Nevertheless from incidental passages in his writings we learn that he was master of five Languages, and versed in Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Logic, Geography, History, Theology, the Theory of the English Constitution, and of Politics in general. That he possessed abilities which rapidly seized and strongly grappled with very various knowledge, is manifest from the numerous subjects which he has discussed; and even if we deny him profound intimacy with any one branch, it would be unjust to affirm that he was not passably acquainted with all. He was originally intended for a Presbyterian minister, and "the causes that led the diversion of his talents into another channel, are *now unknown*." Whatever these might be, we find him entering life as a Hosier or a Hose-factor; and at the early age of twenty-one commencing that course of Pamphleteering which he continued, with little intermission, for more than half a century afterwards.

De Foe's minority furnishes Mr. Wilson with three chapters by no means relating to the biography of his hero, but comprising the Religious and Political History of the twenty years between the Restoration and the death of Charles II. Of that Prince,—a bad king and a bad man,—Mr. Wilson cannot speak in terms of personal reprobation from which it is likely that we shall disagree; yet his choice of the enormities produced by Charles's accession is

somewhat whimsical. He begins with the "melancholy tale" of the re-erection of Maypoles; which, in the language of De Foe, he appears to consider a profane and immoral extravagance of Church exultation and an "excursion of the flagon." The Maypole, in our own days, rears its tall state upon most of our village greens, unhonoured and unrebuked; and it is, to our eyes, one of the most pleasing objects connected with the repose of an English landscape: nevertheless few things indifferent in themselves were visited with greater wrath in earlier times. The reader may be amused with one example of Puritanical fulmination, which we subjoin from Philip Stubbes, a writer not at present of very common occurrence.

"Against May, all the young men and maides, olde men and wives, run gadding overnight to the woods, groves, hils, and mountains, where they spend all the night in pleasant pastimes. In the morning they return, bringing with them birch and branches of trees to deck their assemblies withall; and no meruaile, for there is a great Lord present amongst them, as superintendent and Lord over their pastimes and sports—namely, Sathan, prince of Hel. But the chiefest jewel they bring from thence is their Maypole, which they bring home with great veneration, as thus, they have twentie or fortie yoke of oxen—every ox having a sweet nose-gay of floures placed on the tip of his hornes, and these oxen drawe home this May-pole (this stinking pool rather,) which is covered all over with floures and hearbs bound round about with strings from the top to the bottome, and sometimes painted with variable colours, with two or three hundred men, women, and children following it with great devotion. And thus being reared up, with handkerchiefs and flags hovering on the top, they straw the ground roundeabout, binde green boughes about it, set up sommer haules, bowers, and arbors, hard by it. And then fall to dance about it, like as the heathen people did at the dedication of the Idols, wherof this is a perfect pattern or rather the thing itself. Neither the Jewes, the Turcks, Sarasins, nor Pagans, nor any other nations how barbarous or wicked soever, have ever used such devilish exercises as these, nay, they would have been ashamed once to have named them, much lesse have used them. Yet wee that would be Christians, think them not amisse. The Lord forgive us and remove them from us!"—*Anatomic of Abuses*, sign. *ff.* 4.

De Foe inveighs in a loud and somewhat similar strain against the renewal of this Idolatry in the early part of the reign of Anne.

"And here," says he, "I must note, and I am sure I do it with a great deal of justice, that in the first two years of her majesty's reign, when the high-flying party had the ascendant over our councils, the kingdom of crime began; and May-poles and play-houses grew up like churches at the Reformation. If any man doubts the truth of the fact, let him put me upon the proof of it when he pleases; and in the meantime, let him but observe with me this one thing, that there were more new May-poles erected, and old ones re-edified in that one year, than

ever were in this nation since Bishop Laud's *reformation* by the Book of Sports, the year of the restoration excepted. This gives ground to the story of an old woman, who, having seen the music and dancing about one of their new May-poles on a Sunday, and remembering the blessed time when the Sabbath used to be kept in that manner by authority, broke out in this most pious ejaculation about it,—*Good Lord, here's the old Religion come again!*"—vol. iii. p. 67.

It is more reasonably that the gross licentiousness and debauchery which marked the evil period of Charles II. is objected to by De Foe. His belief in the Popish plot—the foulest stain on our English annals—was somewhat qualified as compared with that of most of his brethren; he rejected the notion of a general massacre to be effected by a disembarkation of Roman Catholic pilgrims; and he did not admit the probability of five men mastering a hundred; for such was the proportion of the respective populations of the two Religions. "It is highly *probable*," says Mr. Wilson, "from some circumstances he has recorded," (we wish he had explained what these circumstances are,) "that he was better informed on the subject of the Popish plot than he has chosen to tell us." Still his credulity went quite far enough to stagger modern comprehension. He firmly credited, in conformity with the Parliamentary vote, that there was a horrid and bloody conspiracy set on foot and carried on by the Papists for the subversion of the Government, both in Church and State, and for the overthrow and extirpation of the Protestant Religion. The reasons which he assigns for this belief are well worthy of remark; and may afford a sufficient answer to those who clamour against all tests and exclusions whatsoever on Religious grounds. "For such a conspiracy," he says, "I neither wonder at it, nor so much blame them. I never blame men, at least not so much, who professing principles destructive of the Constitution they live under, and believing it their just right to supplant it, act in conformity to the principles they profess." It is scarcely requisite to draw the deduction to which this frank avowal necessarily leads. While the Constitution consists of two parts, one Civil, the other Ecclesiastical, and these two are indissolubly intertwined and united with each other, so that the alteration or the destruction of one, brings with it the alteration or destruction of both; all those persons who, under any shape, renounce either part, profess principles in degree destructive to the whole. Doing so, according to De Foe's argument, they are justified in endeavouring to supplant it. Need we say that the natural right of self-preservation justifies us, in return, in the adoption of measures of vigilance and precaution; and that it is manifestly inequitable that those who do not fulfil the entire duties of citizens, and are

but imperfect members of the State, should lay claim to an unbounded possession of all its privileges and immunities.

De Foe's first appearance in print, was in a lampoon upon Sir Roger L'Estrange, a brother Pamphleteer, whose sturdy support of every species of oppression might well have awakened the indignation of a less ardent spirit than that which here encountered him. L'Estrange, at the time, filled the odious office of Licenser; and he had distinguished himself, some years before, by one of the most unqualified attacks, which has ever been directed against the Liberty of the Press. Those who condemn the few slight and salutary restraints, which are still imposed upon its dangerous licentiousness, may be justly horror-stricken, at contemplating the penalties which were once recommended by an Officer, whose duty was to watch over its conduct. In his *Considerations and Proposals, in order to the regulation of the Press, together with diverse instances of treasonous and seditious Pamphlets, proving the necessity of the same*; this Draco of Literature had advised the following punishments for transgressors:—Death, mutilation, imprisonment, banishment, corporal pains, disgrace, and pecuniary mulcts. Among the mildest of these, is the last class but one; and the items are, pillory, stocks, whipping, carting, stigmatizing, disablement to bear office or testimony; public recantation; standing under the gallows with a rope round the neck during the execution of a criminal; disfranchisement, if freemen; cashiering, if soldiers; degrading, if persons of condition; wearing some badge of infamy; and condemnation to work either in mines, plantations, or houses of correction. For Printers and Booksellers was reserved a distinctive costume; Paternoster Row might have been clothed in motley; and the Curl or Stockdale of his day might have walked abroad, like Malvolio or Lord Hamlet,

No hat upon his head, his stockings foul'd.

The enactments proposed, were that “they may be condemned to wear some visible badge or mark of ignominy, as a halter instead of a hatband, one stocking blue and another red, or a blue bonnet with a red T. or S. upon it, to denote the crime to be either Treason or Sedition.”

Fortunately for De Foe, the Government did not adopt these atrocious propositions, or there can be little doubt he would have been heavily visited on his very *debut*. Some punishment he certainly merited, for his *Speculum Crape-Gownorum* is a most ferocious, coarse, and virulent Libel upon the Clergy; and the few parts of it which are not positively dull as well as scurrilous, are stolen without acknowledgment, from Eachard, the witty writer, of perhaps the wittiest Tract in our Language. It is not

our intention however to follow De Foe chronologically through his publications; and the reader who glances at the terrific Catalogue of 210 Works attributed to his pen, will not be surprised at our determination. We must be content with a few incidental notices.

On the accession of James II., De Foe was a partaker in Monmouth's rash and silly attempt. No reasons are assigned by Mr. Wilson for this imprudence, to use the mildest name with which it can be clothed; unless it be that he was in the habit of seeing the unfortunate Duke on the race-course; where, contrary to the usual custom, he rode his own horses, and notwithstanding he was a large, heavy man, occasionally won. To what extent De Foe shared in this Rebellion, and whether he was absolutely present in arms at Sedgemoor, we are not told; but as it is broadly stated that he joined Monmouth's standard, it may be presumed that he was exposed to the penalties of Treason. He escaped both the sword and the gibbet; but of the particulars of this good fortune, nothing is recorded. *It is not improbable*, says the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, adopting the customary tone of doubt, that his person was unknown. Many years afterwards, he himself expressed a satisfactory recollection of the part which he had played on this occasion.

The view taken by De Foe and adopted by Mr. Wilson, of the conduct of the Church of England, at the Revolution, is singularly oblique and perverse. It is to the Seven Bishops and to the Established Clergy at large, that we are indebted for our present liberties—and never did any class of men more irrefragably establish the integrity of the motives which actuated them, than this much calumniated band. Take the representations of the Sectarians, and the Church commenced her opposition to James, because he attacked her revenues. Look to the truer records of History, and you will there perceive that those who (doubtless in a mistaken spirit) surrendered all their human interests to a grinding despotism, and would not lift a single finger against authority while it oppressed only in temporals, roused themselves as one man, girt themselves for the battle, and withstood even to the uttermost peril, when the attack was levelled against conscience, and things not of this earth, but spiritual and eternal, were placed in jeopardy. The debt which England owes to her Church for its pure, manly, and disinterested resistance, in 1688, is never to be discharged. The Freedom of our Constitution was then reared, not upon a worldly or political foundation, but upon a much broader platform, a greatly securer basis, a far deeper root. Religion is its groundwork, and its goodly frame is indeed built upon a rock digged deep; upon which, while it

continues to rest, although the floods may arise, and the rain descend, and the wind blow, and the stream may beat vehemently against it, nevertheless, under the blessing of God, it shall never be shaken nor fall!

Floggee high, or Floggee low, Mr. Wilson is equally displeased with the Church and every body connected with it. Those who took the oath on William's accession, are said to have trifled with conscience, and to have been insincere converts; those who refused them, to have entertained a suspicious Religion, assimilating much nearer to the Church of Rome than to a rational devotion; to have cherished politics of the most slavish description; to have refuted their foolish theory by their practice, and to have been intolerant Bigots. "Sancroft," he observes, with singular inconsistency and self-contradiction, "had no pretensions to the character of a great man; he is rather *to be respected for his virtues, which shone most in adversity.*" What it may be asked, is Mr. Wilson's test of greatness? or where shall it be said really to exist, unless it belong to that virtue which becomes more illustrious under misfortune? It has been far too much a fashion to undervalue and to neglect the Non-jurors,—to lay to their charge blindness and obstinacy; to accuse them of having imperilled the Church by their pertinacious resistance; and to heap upon them solely the whole weight of that political error which occasioned their deprivation. This error, as far as they were concerned in it, was *amabilis error*; a failing which leaned to Virtue's side. We do not think as much can be said for the Government which insisted upon oaths at the price of active support and assistance from such men, among many others, as Sancroft, Kenn, Hickes, Collier, Dodwell, Leslie, and Nelson. Evelyn,—than whom, no more gentle, meek, and tolerant spirit ever existed; who lived easily and intimately with his contemporaries of all persuasions, provided they were but honest and pious; and who, in this wide intercourse, never compromised either his Religion or his Loyalty by spurious liberality, during the long course of fourscore years;—Evelyn perceived the danger of subjecting those already in office to oaths which were plainly urged on by the arts of that Republican and Presbyterian faction, which was the bane of William's reign. He dined at Lambeth Palace, in the Spring of 1689, just after Sancroft had excused himself from officiating at the Coronation. The conversation turned upon the measures, the approach of which was foreseen. "We discoursed," he says, "likewise, of the great disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be imposed on any, save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had been long in office; who, it was

likely, would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the Government as established by law." "The new Privy Council," he continues a little afterwards, "have a Republican Spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the Crown, and prosperity of the Church of England;" and again, when visiting Sancroft, after the sentence of deprivation had been issued—"I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the new-designed Bishops. He told me that by no Canon or Divine law they could justify removing the present incumbents." Sancroft's straightforward integrity is finely shewn in the counsel which he offered to one of more pliant temper. "Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice. The Archbishop told him though he should give it, he believ'd he would not take it. The Doctor said he would; why then said the Archbishop, when they come to ask, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart; there's nothing easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done in the case. The Doctor seemed to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Kenn, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his Diocese, and if he and the rest should insist on it, and plead their interest as freeholders, 'tis believed there would be difficulty in their case, and it may endanger a schism and much disturbance. *So as wise men think it had been better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turn them out for refusing to swear against their consciences.*"

Never in the course of our History was any question submitted for decision, presenting greater difficulties than that which offered itself to the Non-juring Clergy; and little should we regard that man's love of Truth and Honour who could venture to pronounce even at the far distant moment at which we now live, that he would *then* have taken the oaths without hesitation. How deeply Sancroft meditated upon the conflicting arguments is proved by a MS. from which Dr. D'Oyley has printed copious extracts. He rejected the sophistical distinction between a King *de jure* and *de facto*, which furnished unction to so many less tender consciences; and fully admitting that James had acted contrary to the laws, being influenced by "some unhappy principles opposite to the Religion and interest of his People," and that there was on that account, a necessity for declaring him "incapable of the Government," he proposed as an honest expedient, not as a shallow subterfuge, that the Prince of Orange should be proclaimed *Custos Regni*, to administer the Government in the King's right and name. Such a course, doubtless, would have relieved all difficulty concerning the violation of allegiance; but politically, it would have been fraught with peril. William, who

would have declined even a marital Crown, and who protested against being made his wife's gentleman-usher, *a fortiori* would have rejected this shadow of Kingship. The hopes of the excluded Prince would have been perpetually fostered; and that worst of all evils, a second Restoration, would probably, ere many years, have been inflicted on the suffering Country. The knot, indeed, was of so perplexed a nature that it did not admit unravelling. It was absolutely necessary that it should be cut; and happy is it for us of these days that men were found bold enough for the operation! It was, however, no want of moral courage,—on the other hand it was an exertion of that quality, but in an opposite direction,—which prevented Sancroft and those who acted with him, from raising their hands to assist in striking the requisite blow. Read the golden maxim with which one division of the paper above alluded to concludes; and judge from it if there could be any doubt or wavering in him who wrote it! “Whoever he is that hath to do in the public, and slights these considerations (of justice), preferring some political scheme before them, shall find his hypothesis full of flattery at the first, of trouble in the proceeding, and of confusion at the last.” Or turn to the declarations of Bishop Thomas on his death bed; “If my heart deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, I think I could burn at a stake before I took this new oath!” Read these avowals and deny if you can, the courage of the high-minded and unworldly Spirits, by which they were uttered! Is it of such men as these, who abandoned wealth, honour, station, and authority, yea, all which they possessed, for conscience sake, that we are to be frigidly and unfeelingly assured that they had no pretensions to greatness!

A *soi-disant* Professor of State-craft, is usually but a sorry *Paterfamilias*. He who steps out of his course to admonish the Public, rarely evinces much skill in the management of his private affairs. Political Zeal is a quality far too fervent and too aspiring to ally itself with the calm and gentle housewife, Prudence; and, like Majesty and Love, they seldom dwell under one roof. Thus it is, that our own Hunt did not attain his jetty pre-eminence as a Blacking merchant, till he relinquished the Manchester Hustings, and contented himself with becoming the *Avogadore* of a Parish Vestry. Thus also De Foe while he grafted Reforms upon Church and State, rather than feet upon his stockings, unhappily encountered insolvency by the road. In 1692, he took refuge from his creditors, *perhaps*, in Bristol, where we are told he used to walk the streets in a fine, flowing wig, laced ruffles, and a sword; and where, from his appearance on that day, which still continues to be a Sabbath well observed

by all who are under fear of the Law, he obtained the *soubriquet* of "The Sunday Gentleman." In this distress, he first became connected with Government; through what chance is as little known as any other part of his history; and during four years he held the appointment of accountant to the Commissioners of Glass-duty. But he had a far more important work in hand. We believe that the greater number of designs for the payment of the National Debt, and for the Perpetual Motion, have been furnished from time to time, by denizens of Bedlam or the Fleet; as if a certain degree of antipathy facilitated the process of intellectual generation. Thus it was that De Foe, while seeking cover from the bailiffs, and reduced to beggary in his own person, poured floods of imaginary gold into the coffers of the Public. In an *Essay on Projects*, which was the fruit of this season of retirement, he suggested to Ministers a scheme for a general assessment, of the efficacy of which he felt so confident, that he offered to farm the revenue arising from it, at a rent of three millions annually, *giving good security for the payment*; "and when this is done, the nation would get three more by paying it, which is very strange, but might easily be made out." *Perhaps* the Government felt some misgiving respecting the security, for we do not learn that they adopted the proposition.

Another of his speculations, at this time, was a manufacture of Pantiles at Tilbury. In this attempt also he was in the end unsuccessful. The *Essay on Projects*, to which we have referred above, notwithstanding the wildness of its financial scheme, contains numerous shrewd and useful suggestions; and the germs of many Institutions, which have since sprung forth and borne good produce, may be discovered in De Foe's pages. He points to the utilities of Branch establishments from a National Bank; he anticipates M'Adam himself on Road-making; he notices the advantages of Insurance Offices; he recommends Benefit Societies and Savings' Banks; he urges the erection of a Hospital for Fools; and (perhaps as a training for that receptacle,) of a Philological Academy, in imitation of that which Richlieu had formed in France. De Foe appears also to have been usefully engaged in representing the inadequacy of all those attempts at any amendment of Public morals, which, addressing themselves only to the inferior orders, leave offenders in high places untouched. His *Poor Man's Plea*, though by no means untinted by that asceticism which, more or less, pervades all the Works of the Puritans, contains much sound good sense. Mr. Wilson regards it with rapture—"Mr. Timothy Rogers," he tells us, "a man of *seraphic piety*, and one of the ministers of the Presbyterian congregation in the Old Jewry, quoted it in his Sermon for Reformation of Manners, which is in print."

William III. was De Foe's *beau ideal*, both of kingship and of manhood; and there is scarcely an act of this Prince's reign, not excepting even the Massacre of Glencoe, in which he is not praised or protected by the pen of his worshipper. Pamphlet after pamphlet was issued in defence of his "dear and glorious master," till at length, in 1701, he quitted the level track of Prose, along which he had hitherto been content to move at a rough trot, and dashed upwards to the steeps of Parnassus. Mr. Wilson informs us, however, that the *Trueborn Englishman* was by no means De Foe's first Essay in rhyme. Before its appearance, "his *genius* had dictated some short Poems upon particular occasions, but not distinguished by any merit that would render them popular beyond the fleeting occasion that produced them." He had engaged it seems as versificator to John Dunton; and some Pindarics on the Athenian Society had been printed in the *Athenian Oracle*,—that Society which, as its founder with great glee informs his readers, had been sung, "by the chief wits of the age, Mr. Motteux, Mr. Foe, Mr. Richardson, and in particular Mr. Tate, now Poet Laureate." The chief wits of the age, like the best of Kings, is a general expression for the commodity which happens to be *in esse*. In our own days they are employed in the service, and blazoned in the Prospectus of every Editor of *Caskets*, *Carcanets*, *Annuals*, *Souvenirs*, or *Forget me nots*: and the small fry of Helicon nibble greedily at the hook baited with this golden name. If we were ignorant of the causes upon which popularity often depends, it might surprise us that those ears, in which were still echoing the rich, full harmony of Dryden's cadences, were not grated by the scrannel squeak of De Foe. The *Trueborn Englishman* ran through one-and-twenty editions in its author's life-time; and 80,000 copies, priced from one penny to sixpence each, were disposed of in the streets of London, exclusive of those more legitimate brochures, published at a higher rate by the author himself. The name of the Satire is still familiarly remembered, and is coupled almost universally with that of the writer. But who amongst us ever happened to read one line of it? or who, after perusing the following extracts, which we take from Mr. Wilson's pages, will look for more elsewhere? In order that they may be understood, it should be stated that De Foe's object was to dissipate the prejudice excited against the Dutch families which had been recently ennobled; and that the course which he adopted was to degrade English genealogy, by exhibiting it as a mongrel compound, and representing the pure channel through which British blood was supposed to flow, as no other than the common sewer of all Europe.

“ These are the heroes who despise the Dutch,
 And rail at new-come foreigners so much ;
 Forgetting that themselves are all deriv'd
 From the most scoundrel race that ever liv'd.
 A horrid crowd of rambling thieves and drones,
 Who ransack'd kingdoms, and dispeopled towns.
 The Pict and painted Briton, treach'rous Scot,
 By hunger, theft, and rapine hither brought ;
 Norwegian pirates, buccanering Danes,
 Whose red-hair'd offspring every where remains ;
 Who join'd with Norman-French compound the breed,
 From whence your True-born Englishmen proceed.
 And lest by length of time it be pretended,
 The climate may the modern race have mended,
 Wise Providence, to keep us where we are,
 Mixes us daily with exceeding care.” Vol. i. p. 349.

“ Fierce as the Briton, as the Roman brave,
 And less inclin'd to conquer than to save ;
 Eager to fight, and lavish of their blood,
 And equally of Fear and Fore-cast void.
 The Pict has made 'em sour, the Dane morose,
 False from the Scot, and from the Norman worse. .
 What honesty they have the Saxons gave them,
 And that, now they grow old, begins to leave them.
 The climate makes them terrible and bold,
 And English beef their courage does uphold ;
 No danger can their daring spirit pall,
 Always provided with their bellies full.” Vol. i. p. 350, 351.

This indeed was a dainty dish to set before a King ; but that King's theory of music was derived more from the croak to which he had listened on the fat, slimy banks of some *batracheious* and *brekekecions* dike, than from the fabled warblings of Cayster : and feeling well assured that the sentiments which De Foe avowed might serve his interests, William was little solicitous about the versification in which they were clothed.

“ His unbought praises in the poem, inspired William with a desire to become acquainted with the author, who was immediately sent for to the palace, conversed with the king, and had repeated interviews with him afterwards. The manners and sentiments of De Foe, appear to have made such a favourable impression upon his majesty, that he ever afterwards regarded him with kindness ; and conceiving that his talents might be turned to a beneficial account, he employed him in many secret services, to which he alludes occasionally in his writings. The nature of them he has not told, probably from a sense of delicacy ; but of the fact itself, and of the cause that led to it, there can be no reason to doubt. Writing afterwards in allusion to these circumstances, he says, ‘ How this poem was the occasion of my being known to his majesty ; how I was afterwards received by him ; how employed ; and

how, above my capacity of deserving, rewarded, is no part of the present case; and is only mentioned here, as I take all occasions to do, for the expressing the honour I ever preserved for the immortal and glorious memory of that greatest and best of princes, and whom it was my honour and advantage to call master, as well as sovereign; whose goodness to me I never forget; and whose memory I never patiently heard abused, nor ever can do so; and who, had he lived, would never have suffered me to be treated as I have been in the world.'” Vol. i. p. 354—355.

The violence of the House of Commons, and the attachment of De Foe to William, now led him, as is believed, to an act, perhaps the boldest of his life—the presentation of the celebrated Legion Paper. Mr. Wilson has told this part of his history well and distinctly. It belongs to one of those popular effervescences which make great hissing and popping in their day, but which leave little beyond vapidity for those who happen to come after the cork has fairly flown out of the bottle. The Commons, by an outrageous exercise of power, had committed to the Gatehouse prison, five gentlemen of consideration in Kent, who, as a deputation from the Grand Jury and Freeholders, had presented a County Petition.

“It was upon occasion of the circumstance just recorded, that De Foe drew up the celebrated Legion Paper, which was presented to the House of Commons upon Wednesday the 14th of May, the day after the gentlemen were committed, and produced an extraordinary sensation both in parliament and upon the nation. It was addressed ‘To the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled,’ and intitled, ‘A Memorial from the Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the Counties of —, in behalf of themselves, and many thousands of the good people of England;’ and signed **LEGION**. In what manner it was communicated to the House, or whether at all according to form, does not appear by the Journals. Oldmixon says, De Foe enclosed this paper in a letter to the Speaker Harley, charging and commanding him in the names of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the Commons. Another historian tells us, it was placed in the Speaker’s chair; but Mr. Chalmers adopts a tradition, that De Foe disguised in a woman’s dress, presented it to the Speaker as he entered the House of Commons. Such a report was certainly current at the time, but the true history of it seems to be that which is related in ‘The History of the Kentish Petition:’ The author thus writes: ‘’Twas said, it was delivered the Speaker by a woman; but I have been informed since, that it was a mistake, and ’twas delivered by the very person who wrote it, guarded by about sixteen gentlemen of quality, who, if any notice had been taken of him, were ready to have carried him off by force.’ Some precaution was certainly necessary in the delivery of such a paper, which, if the author had been detected, would have subjected him to the utmost vengeance of the House. The ‘Memorial’ was enclosed in the following letter to Mr. Harley.

“ ‘Mr. Speaker. The enclosed Memorial you are charged with in behalf of many thousands of the good people of England. There is neither Papist, Jacobite, Seditious, Court or Party interest concerned in it ; but honesty and truth. You are commanded by 200,000 Englishmen to deliver it to the House of Commons, and to inform them that it is no banter, but serious truth ; and a serious regard to it is expected. Nothing but justice and their duty is required, and it is required by them who have both a right to require and power to compel, viz. The People of England. We could have come to the House strong enough to oblige them to hear us ; but we have avoided any tumult, not desiring to embroil, but to save our native country. If you refuse to communicate it to them, you will find cause in a short time to repent it.’

‘ To Robert Harley, Esq.

Speaker of the House of Commons.’ ” Vol. i. p. 395—397.

The memorial is printed at length by Mr. Wilson, and contains a display of grievances drawn up in coarse, strong, and intemperate language. The Commons, among other matters, are told that they are not above the People’s resentment, but that those who made them Members may reduce them to the same rank from which they chose them, and give them a taste of their abused kindness, in terms which may displease them. Some of their votes are characterised as horrible cheats on the subject, breaches of public faith, and destructive to the honour and credit of Parliament; others as ridiculous and impertinent, illegal, betraying the liberty of the subject, in contempt of English freedom, and contrary to the nature of Parliamentary power. They are then accused of having made a Billingsgate of their House, and having set up to bully their Sovereign; of being scandalously vicious in themselves both in Morals and Religion; lewd in life, and erroneous in doctrine, having public blasphemers and impudent deniers of the Divinity of our Saviour among them. Redress is peremptorily demanded; and this astounding Paper concludes as follows:—“ Our name is LEGION, and we are many. P.S. If you require to have this memorial signed with our names, it shall be done on your first order, and personally presented.” The House very wisely omitted to take any especial notice of this Libel, and it died a natural death through their politic neglect of it. We think there is little doubt of the correctness of that general opinion, which ascribes the chief part in this singular transaction to De Foe. The very nature of it, however, as will be readily perceived, does not permit absolute certainty.

The death of William again awakened De Foe’s Muse, in a Satirical Elegy, which he entitled, *The Mock Mourners*. It is worthy of his former efforts in rhyme. The deceased King, it is said, so ruled, that

His works, like Providence, were all compleat,
And made a harmony we wondered at.

In his last illness, having sent for his successor, he prepared for death somewhat *en militaire*. He

Told her that he had orders from on high,
To lay aside his Government and die.

At the close, Britannia, in person, enunciates his character. She declares him to have been far superior to any Biblical Worthy; to David, inasmuch as the conquest of Namur was more glorious than that of Goliah; to Solomon, because William had all that monarch's wisdom, without being tainted by his gallantries; to Joshua, because if the passage of the Jordan had been as difficult as that of the Boyne, the Hebrew leader would still have remained on the other side, whereas the King of England would have crossed it without the aid of a miracle: just as

His bombs and cannon would ha' made the wall,
Without the help of Jewish ramshorns fall.

Passing from Sacred to Profane History, William is made to exceed the Heroes of the latter, as much as he has already been proved above those of the former.

The Pompeys, Cæsars, Scipios, Alexanders,
Who crowd the world with fear, were great commanders;

But Nassau is not to be measured by their inadequate standard;

He was the only man we e'er saw fit,
To regulate the World, and conquer it.

Finally, great pleasure is expressed at the political measures which the new Queen is likely to pursue, but some doubts arise as to her capacity for war.

The civil sword to her as Heaven saw fit,
With general satisfaction they commit:
How can it in a hand like her's miscarry!
But who shall for us wield the military?

This question assuredly was not prompted by the spirit of prophecy: and the answer, which Marlborough was soon about to return, must have astonished and confounded the inquirer.

The chief antagonist of De Foe in the reign which now succeeded, was a name never to be mentioned without honour by any true son of the Church of England, and therefore one which Mr. Wilson wherever he can introduce it,

Quintâ parte sui nectaris imbuît.

On Charles Leslie's answer to one of Dennis's mad Pamphlets, we meet the following *Tirade*.

"The author of this abusive performance was Charles Leslie, the *Coryphæus* of his party; and his work must also have had a considerable run, as it passed in the same year to a third edition. With the most contracted notions upon religion and government, and a mind strongly possessed by bigotry, he takes no pains to conceal the intentions of his party, which were to overthrow the toleration, to deprive the Dissenters of their political rights, even to the elective franchise; and if they were not contented, to prohibit their worship, and treat them after the fashion of the heathen emperors towards the primitive Christians. The style of Leslie partook of the qualities of his mind, which were coarse and crabbed in the extreme, as may be seen by his writings. How they could ever attain to popularity, is a problem not easily solved; for they present a compound of folly and extravagance, and breathe all the arrogant pretensions of a violent political maniac."—vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

"A favourite project with Leslie, was an union with the Gallican church; but however it might have weakened the authority of the Pope, it had a threatening aspect upon civil liberty, and was more flattering to the pride of ecclesiastics, than to the free course of religion and learning. In allusion to this scheme, De Foe says, 'To suggest that the difference between the Church of England, and the Gallican Church of Rome, is but small, and that the Church of England may be easily reconciled, is a horrid plot upon the reputation of that church, which all men, who have any regard for the present religious establishment of the nation, will think themselves obliged to vindicate.'"—vol. ii. p. 31.

In reply both to De Foe and to Mr. Wilson, we may cite the words of a great writer, not much given to adulation; and to whose pen, of all others, with which we are acquainted, Panegyric is least familiar. The praise of Swift should be valued, not only on account of his sagacity and knowledge of mankind, but yet more, perhaps, on that of his acknowledged cynicism; just as it is the difficulty wherewith it is extracted, and the small quantity which is produced, which gives its enduring fragrance, and its high market price, to the Attar of Roses. The Dean of St. Patrick's has been commenting, certainly with no disposition to spare, upon Burnet's Introduction to his Third Volume of the *History of the Reformation*. In one place the Bishop had expressed himself with unfeigned and not very charitable contempt of Leslie's favourite design; "somebody," he says, "had the impudence to propose a union with the Gallican church." "I have indeed heard," writes Swift, "that Mr. Leslie published a Discourse to that purpose, which I have never seen; nor do I perceive the evil in proposing a union between any two Churches in Christendom. Without doubt Mr. Leslie is most unhappily misled in his Politics; but if he be the author of the late Tract against Popery, (*The case stated between the Church of Rome and the Church of England*,) he has given the World such a

proof of his soundness in Religion, as many a Bishop ought to be proud of. I never saw the gentleman in my life : I know he is the son of a great and excellent Prelate, who upon several accounts was one of the most extraordinary men of his age. Mr. Leslie has written many useful discourses upon several subjects, and has so well deserved of the Christian Religion, and the Church of England in particular, that to accuse him of "impudence for proposing a union," in two very different Faiths, is a style which I hope few will imitate. I detest Mr. Leslie's political principles, as much as his Lordship can do for his heart; but I verily believe he acts from a mistaken conscience, and therefore I distinguish between the principles and the person. However it is some mortification to me, when I see an avowed Nonjuror contribute more to the confounding of Popery, than could ever be done by a hundred thousand such Introductions as this."

On the Question of Occasional Conformity, De Foe involved himself, to his heart's content, with all parties; he quarrelled with the Dissenters, and he was prosecuted and pilloried by the Government. He was right in disapproving a practice, by which the Dissenters struck a balance between their prejudices and their ambition; and shuffled into such offices as they wished to hold, by paring away the edges of their conscience. While this swindling trick was connived at, he raised his voice loudly in its reprobation, and brought down upon himself vials of wrath from John Howe, and his followers. But the moment at which the Legislature, by a special Act, resolved to prohibit the cheat, was too favourable for his love of controversy to be neglected; and little caring against what party he fought, whether his cry was for *paes* or *banes*, so as he had the pleasure of fighting, he sharply attacked the veto imposed upon the very practice to which he had so long objected. We remember a booby Welsh boy who half lamed himself for life, by tumbling down stairs on purpose to make an April-fool of his grandmother; and the course which De Foe adopted in his new warfare, was not very dissimilar. He wrote a Pamphlet in which the Irony was so carefully sustained, that those whom he intended to serve, tore him to pieces at first, for attacking them; and those whom he intended to attack, when the secret was revealed, finished by consigning him to Newgate. *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, is said to have passed current with both parties for a serious production; and it is not the only piece of Irony which has met similar fate. To joke with a serious face and yet to be understood, is the triumph of joking; and in this De Foe failed; much more, it must be confessed, from the dullness of his readers,

than from any fault on his own side. Well might he complain how hard it was that his intention should not have been perceived by all (any part of) the town, and that not one man could see it, either Churchman or Dissenter. His object, in brief, was, under the assumed character of a High Churchman, to recommend that one severe law should be made and punctually executed, that whoever was found at a Conventicle should be banished, and the preacher be hanged. This, which in our days would be considered, at worst, but as an amusing banter, was magnified by party fury into a State offence. Lord Nottingham discovered the Author, and determined to prosecute him. The following proclamation was inserted in the London Gazette.

“Whereas Daniel De Foe, alias De Fooe, is charged with writing a scandalous and seditious pamphlet, intituled ‘The Shortest Way with the Dissenters.’ He is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion, and dark brown coloured hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, grey eyes, and a large mole near his mouth: was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman’s Yard, in Cornhill; and now is owner of the brick and pantile works, near Tilbury Fort, in Essex: whoever shall discover the said Daniel De Foe to one of her majesty’s principal secretaries of state, or any of her majesty’s justices of the peace, so he may be apprehended, shall have a reward of 50*l.*, which her majesty has ordered immediately to be paid upon such discovery.”—vol. ii. p. 61, 62.

The Commons resolved, that the Book, being full of scandalous and seditious reflections on the Parliament, and tending to promote sedition, be burned by the hands of the Common Hangman. De Foe was indicted at the Old Bailey, where he pleaded guilty, as it is said, in hopes of mercy, was sentenced to pay a fine of two hundred marks to the Queen, to stand three times in the Pillory, to be imprisoned during the Queen’s pleasure, and to find sureties for his behaviour for seven years.

De Foe was a firebrand, a restless demagogue, *acerbus crimosus, popularis homo ac turbulentus*, a perpetual thorn in the side of that Government to which he opposed himself, and which therefore gladly seized any opportunity of plucking him out, and trampling upon him. But little will the truth of these statements justify the crying iniquity of the sentence thus obtained, or plead an apology for the unmitigated vengeance with which he was overwhelmed. The same temper of mind which ensconced him in the pillory would, if it had possessed the power, (as it might have done a hundred years before,) have chained him to the stake; and even now, that he escaped the pruning knife, which pared away Pryune’s stumps, must be attributed, not to the lenity of his judges, but to the improved spirit of popular feeling, which revolted against such barbarity. De Foe submitted

to his punishment with fortitude. He even wrote a *Hymn to the Pillory*, the least dull of all his Poems. In the following lines there is dignity and an approach to pointedness. After styling the instrument by which he had suffered,

A Hieroglyphic State Machine,
Contrived to punish Fancy in.

he proceeds,

“Thou bug-bear of the law stand up and speak,
Thy long misconstrued silence break.
Tell us who 'tis upon thy ridge stands there,
So full of fault, and yet so void of fear;
And from the paper in his hat,
Let all mankind be told for what.
Tell them it was because he was too bold,
And told those truths, which should not ha' been told,
Extol the justice of the land,
Who punish what they will not understand.
Tell them he stands exalted there,
For speaking what we would not hear;
And yet he might have been secure,
Had he said less, or would he ha' said more,
Tell them that this is his reward,
And worse is yet for him prepared,
Because his foolish virtue was so nice
As not to sell his friends, according to his friends' advice.
And thus he's an example made,
To make men of their honesty afraid.
That for the time to come they may
More willingly their friends betray;
Tell them the men that placed him here
Are scandals to the times,
Are at a loss to find his guilt,
And can't commit his crimes,”—vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

Respecting this Poem, Mr. Wilson has fallen into an amusing blunder. He tells us that, “In a strain of manly satire De Foe could say,

Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage:
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a Hermitage.—HYMN TO THE PILLORY.”

After his volumes have been printed off, some friend, better versed than himself in English Literature, has informed him of that with which few except himself can be unacquainted, that these lines belong not to De Foe but to Lovelace,—Mr. Wilson accordingly inserts in his Errata, “Page 84, Reference, for *Hymn to the Pillory*, read *Lucasta*, by Colonel Lovelace.” Unfortunately, the correc-

tion has only increased the fault, by proving beyond a doubt, that Mr. Wilson can never have read a line in *Lovelace* with his own eyes. If he had done so, he must have known that the gallant and high-minded Cavalier addressed his song to *Althea*, not in "a strain of manly satire," but of most touching and exquisite tenderness.

While in prison, De Foe undertook the conduct of a Periodical Work, *The Review*, which soon after became the great political organ of the Whig Ministry on their attainment of power. No entire copy of this Work, which extended to nine quarto volumes, of all of which Mr. Wilson states De Foe to have been the sole writer, is known to exist at present. Harley was too penetrating not to perceive the great advantage which he might derive from so ready and indefatigable a pen, and accordingly while the changes in Government were preparing, he sent a verbal message to Newgate, to ask what he could do for the prisoner. De Foe expressed a wish for his release. Godolphin furnished him with money to pay his fine, and for his personal expenses, and in August, 1704, he was discharged. *The Review*, and some more small skirmishing in Pamphlets, still kept Leslie in the field, and in order to meet his antagonist with his own weapon, he established a weekly paper on a somewhat similar plan. *The Rehearsals* have long outlived their competitor. Leslie brought to his task equal acuteness, wit of a higher order, and a far wider range of learning. *The Rehearsals* are a storehouse of controversy; and among much, which, in our days, will neither be understood, nor indeed is worth any one's taking the trouble to attempt to understand, some things which would not now be written, some which it may be lamented were ever written at all, the student of our Church History will find many arguments which have never been more ably handled, and copious information which he cannot procure elsewhere; and the man of letters will be delighted by an inexhaustible play of brilliant and varied humour, under which De Foe very frequently is the sufferer.

De Foe, from his engagement with Ministry, had now discovered the hand by which the military sword was to be wielded, and in order to express this conviction, he framed a *Hymn to Victory*, praising Marlborough to the skies, and preluded by six pages of dedicatory rhyme, in a like strain, to the Queen. A similar panegyric on the Battle of Ramillies, cost him, as he tells us, only three hours in composition, and we can readily believe the boast. Nor was it only his pen that was employed in Ministerial agency: his personal activity was frequently required, although we may now look in vain for the especial nature of the objects to which it was directed. It may seem invidious to imply that a certain degree of suspicion always attaches to secret service.

“He was appointed by Harley to execute some mission, of a secret nature, which required his presence upon the continent. Of the nature of the service it is now impossible to give any account; but it appears to have been attended with some danger, and to have required his absence for about two months. The minister, who was well acquainted with his enterprising character, was justified in his choice, by the able and fearless manner in which he discharged his trust; and he appears to have been so well satisfied, that upon his return, he procured him an appointment at home as a reward for his services.”—vol. ii. p. 357, 358.

Perhaps one of the most singular parts of De Foe's character, is to be found in his pertinacious attachment to verse; a species of composition for which it may not be going too far to say that from the badness of his ear he was organically incompetent. Quarles is harmony itself when compared with his rhythm—Blackmore greatly exceeds him in fire of expression—Tusser in delicacy of sentiment. His choice of subject is not less remarkable than of the vehicle in which it was to be conveyed. What should we say if Algernon Sydney had written on Government in Trochaics? or if Locke, on a similar theme, had adopted the Spenserian stanza? Yet the *Jure Divino*, framed with much the same object as the sober Treatises of those great men, and intended to exhibit De Foe's notions as to the origin of our State Polity, to combat the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, is clattered to the rough music of marrow-bone-and-cleaver rhyme, the only accompaniment which he had at command. “The whole,” says his advertisement, “will be near 100 sheets in folio, with large annotations, printed on the finest paper. No more to be printed than are subscribed for. The price to be ten shillings; half-a-crown only to be paid down, the remainder on delivery.” We may be spared from attempting any citation from this huge mass of dulness; the single work wherein the writer has wholly failed. Hone, who, like Cobbett, has a touch of kindred spirit with De Foe, attempted some years back to cull a nosegay from this Poem, and the process of gathering was somewhat curious. “The selection is carefully made; from the parts rejected the best passages are preserved, the rhyme and metre are somewhat bettered, the extracts are improved and transposed; and many additions of my own are introduced.”

Sic positæ quoniam suaves miscetis odores.

We shall content ourselves with extracting the Dedication for the sake of appending to it Leslie's characteristic remarks.

“To the most Serene, most Invincible, and most Illustrious Lady REASON: First Monarch of the World; Empress of the East, West, North, and South; Hereditary Director of all Mankind; Guide of the Passions; Lady of the vast Continent of Human Understanding; Mis-

tress of all the Islands of Science; Governess of the Fifteen Provinces of Speech; Image of, and Ambassador Extraordinary from, the Maker of All Things; the Almighty's Representative and Resident in the Souls of Men; and one of Queen Nature's most Honourable Privy Council."—vol. ii. p. 467.

Leslie, whose *Rehearsals* are written in Dialogue, introduces a countryman, one of the interlocutors, making the following natural inquiries:—

"Heyday! heyday! Master; this is tory rory tantive! High flying indeed! and high again!

"R. And as low too, Countryman! he tumbles down my Lady Reason from being First Monarch and Empress of the World, to be, in a trice, but a Privy Counsellor, and but one of another Queen's most honourable Privy Council! He should have made her President of the Council at least! Then he mistakes the stile of Courts strangely! Where was it ever said before, what letter was ever directed, to the most serene, most invincible, and most illustrious, my Lady ———, Privy Counsellor; and, may it please your Majesty! was ever a Queen thus accosted by a Satyr before?

"C. How comes he to make the Sciences all Islanders?

"R. Because Human Understanding had got all the vast Continent before. And if they had not got into the Islands, they must have run into the Sea.

"C. Oh now I understand, why Aristotle, as they say, leaped into the Sea to fish for Science. He thought to have swum into some of its Islands, but was drowned by the way for want of a pilot. Have a care Mr. De Foe—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Mind your knitting.

"In which of these Islands, above or under water, did De Foe find fifteen provinces of speech? My grammar tells me there are eight parts of speech, and there are more than fifteen languages in the world. What does he mean? Is this *licentia poetica*?"

The next stage of De Foe's busy travels through life, led him to share in some of those transactions in which every Government, it is to be feared, finds it necessary to engage on the eve of a great Political change. In the progress of such a measure as the Union, he was likely to prove a very valuable agent. He commenced, as usual, with three Poems and one Pamphlet, in anticipation of it; and soon afterwards he was despatched into Scotland, where, although he disguised the real object of his journey under motives of curiosity, Mr. Wilson assures us, "he was recognized by the Treators in a character *almost diplomatic*." Before quitting Edinburgh he published an eulogistic Poem in three parts, entitled *Caledonia*, for which the Duke of Queensbury, then High Commissioner, gave him a reward which, it may be thought, was but honorary; namely, the monopoly during seven years of printing, vending, importing, and selling this production.

He remained in Scotland during sixteen months, and on his return was enrolled on the pension list. On the discovery of Mrs. Masham's intrigue, and Harley's consequent dismissal, De Foe was transferred to Godolphin. Under that Minister's instructions he visited Scotland more than once again; and eventually on the completion of the Union, he published a *History* of that great National measure; a volume abounding in minute particulars, and almost clothed in that Dramatic costume which imparted so much verisimilitude to his subsequent Works of avowed Invention.

De Foe judged wisely concerning the silly Impeachment of Sacheverell. He foresaw the reaction which it must necessarily produce.

"Let the parliament-justice end where it will, I have nothing to do with it here; but calling him to the bar, and impeaching him before the Lords, together with such a vote as his Sermon being scandalous, seditious, and malicious, is setting him upon a state-machine with a witness. 'The bar of the House of Commons is the worst pillory in the nation.'—vol. iii. p. 93.

"We have had a most distracting, turbulent time for the last two months, occasioned by the prosecution of a high-flying clergyman. His defence has been carried on with all possible heat, fury, and violence, by the party, and a strong conjunction of Papists, Jacobites, and High Church madmen, has made them appear very formidable to the world. Rabbles, tumults, plundering of houses, demolishing meeting-houses, insulting gentlemen in the streets, and honest men in their dwellings, have been the necessary consequence of this affair. And, after all, I must own, though the man has been condemned, his principles censured, and his Sermon burnt, yet, it has not been without the most fatal consequences to the nation; as it has revived the heats and animosities which began to be laid asleep."—vol. iii. pp. 105, 106.

At length Harley returned to power, a Whig in heart, a Tory from ambition. The ferment occasioned by Sacheverell, no doubt, materially assisted his intrigues; but the state of parties was now more than ever puzzling, and De Foe appears to have had his full share of hesitation as to the course which he should adopt. He wrote with caution; and between his abhorrence from the Tories and his gratitude to his former patron and benefactor, it must be admitted that his situation was one of very pitiable perplexity. Nevertheless, as he visited Scotland again towards the end of 1710, Mr. Wilson supposes, with much probability, that Harley found means to engage him once more on a secret service. The literary opponents of the *Review* were now such as it was no slight honour to contend with. It is probable that the brilliant junto (Mr. Chalmers affects to undervalue it and

talks of "the cant of poor Gay!") which formed the Scriblerus Club, was allied with Swift in the *Examiner*. Dr. William King, the Prince of Humourists in his line, more than once assaulted De Foe with the most pointed ridicule; and an assailant not the less formidable because he had less reputation to support, Dyer, the writer of a Weekly News-letter, carried on so harassing a warfare that De Foe made the following singular overture for a truce, which Mr. Wilson has printed, after Mr. Chalmers, from the Harleian MSS.

"It is directed to Mr. Dyer, in Shoe Lane, and is as follows:—

"MR. DYER,

"I have your letter. I am rather glad to find you put it upon the trial who was aggressor, than justify a thing which I am sure you cannot approve; and in this I assure you I am far from injuring you, and refer you to the time when long since you had wrote *I was fled from justice: one Sammon being taken up for printing a libel, and I being then on a journey*, nor the least charge against me for being concerned in it by any body but your letter: also many unkind personal reflections on me in your letter *when I was in Scotland, on the affair of the Union*, and I assure you, when my paper had not in the least mentioned you, and those I refer to time and date for the proof of.

"I mention this only in defence of my last letter, in which I said no more of it than to let you see I did not merit such treatment, and could nevertheless be content to render any service to you, though I thought myself hardly used.

"But to state the matter fairly between you and I, [me] *a writing for different interests*, and so possibly coming under an unavoidable necessity of jarring in several cases: I am ready to make a fair truce of honour with you, viz. that if what either party are doing, or saying, that may clash with the party we are for, and urge us to speak, it shall be done without naming either's name, and without personal reflections; and thus we may differ still, and yet preserve both the Christian and the gentleman.

"This I think is an offer may satisfy you. I have not been desirous of giving just offence to you, neither would I to any man, however I may differ from him; and I see no reason why I should affront a man's person, because I do not join with him in principle. I please myself with being the first proposer of so fair a treaty with you, because I believe, as you cannot deny its being very honourable; so it is not less so in coming first from me, who I believe could convince you of my having been the first and most ill-treated; for further proof of which I refer you to your letters, *at the time I was threatened by the Envoy of the King of Sweden*.

"However, Mr. Dyer, this is a method which may end what is past, and prevent what is future; and if refused, the future part I am sure cannot lye at my door.

"As to your letter, your proposal is so agreeable to me, that truly without it I could not have taken the thing at all: for it would have

been a trouble intolerable, both to you as well as me, to take your letter every post, first from you and then send it to the post-house.

"Your method of sending to the black box, is just what I designed to propose, and Mr. Shaw will doubtless take it of you; if you think it needful for me to speak to him it shall be done. What I want to know is only the charge, and that you will order it constantly to be sent, upon hinting whereof I shall send you the names. Wishing you success in all things, (*Your opinions of Government excepted*). I am,

Your humble Servant,

DE FOE."

"*Newington, June 17, 1710.*"—vol. iii. pp. 185, 186.

The Whigs had now disowned their former champion. With the Tories it was impossible that he should ever firmly establish an interest. Advocating every measure which led to the disgraceful Treaty of Utrecht, he disapproved of the Peace itself when it was concluded, and he was abused by all parties for inconsistency and tergiversation. Satire was still his weapon; and running a-muck, without discretion or warning from former experience, at all he met, his love of irony involved him once more in a prosecution, on this occasion conducted by a private accuser. Some pamphlets concerning the Pretender were taxed with Jacobitism, and his sportiveness was again interpreted in melancholy earnest. He revisited Newgate; and though, by Lord Oxford's influence, he was soon released, on proper submission, Judge Powis affirmed his pamphlets to be scandalous, wicked, and treasonable libels, and that they contained matter for which he might be hanged, drawn, and quartered. When he excused himself as a Wit the Bench threatened a rope; and he found it far more politic not to contest his innocence against such fearful odds.

Your plea is good; but still I say, beware!

Laws are explain'd by men—so have a care.

It stands on record, that in Richard's times

A man was hang'd for very honest rhymes.

His alarm was relieved by the issue of a Pardon under the Great Seal, which convinced his enemies that both his noble Patron and himself were Jacobites. They might quite as justly, said De Foe, have called us Mohammedans.

The accession of George I. by no means improved De Foe's condition, and Lord Oxford's hopeless fall left him without a single influential friend. It can scarcely be doubted, notwithstanding his loud assertions of patriotism and independence, that he was during the major part of his political life a literary *condottiere*; one of the honestest certainly of his class, but a very Swiss at heart. Nor do we advance this to his discredit—we believe that he never wrote what he did not think; and that it was only

latterly, when embarrassed by Lord Oxford's intriguing subtilty, that he suppressed any thing which he did think; and assuredly he had a full right to relieve his necessities by making the best of his talents. It is not therefore with his maintenance of his opinions that we quarrel; for in this, barring the temptations to which a controversialist generally falls a prey, he was honest and consistent. But we cordially reject, for the most part, his principles themselves. That he was an incendiary, and hired to be such, is little to be denied; but he by no means tossed his firebrands either at random, or at the mere beck of his employers. Whenever he agreed with them as to the propriety of the object to be burned, no one piled the faggots with better will—but he would not supply a single twig against conviction. No one now was likely to offer his price—and *point d'argent, point de Suisse*—he closed his Political Life with an *exposé* of his career, which he called *An Appeal to Honour and Justice, though it be of his worst enemies*, by Daniel De Foe. *Being a true account of his conduct in public affairs.* Before it was finished he was stricken with apoplexy. But he recovered, in order to commence, at nearly sixty years of age, the foundation of his remembrance with posterity.

Of the Works, however, upon which his fame is mainly rested, it is little necessary here to speak; they are too well known and have been too often criticised to need fresh Review—and as our estimate of them, perhaps, in some degree, falls short of that which is almost universal and established by prescription, we are not sorry to escape an ungrateful task. He must be bold, indeed, who would venture to contend with rooted opinion and early association against the merits of *Robinson Crusoe*; not to extol which, would almost as much stamp an Englishman with the guilt of *lèse-literature*, as any impugnement of the sovereignty of Shakspeare himself. On the *Journal of the Plague Year*, we feel no such hesitation. It is the most living Picture of Truth which ever proceeded from Imagination; and in spite of every anachronism which forbids the belief, we cannot take it up, after a hundredth perusal, without yielding, before we have traversed twenty pages, to a full conviction that we are conversing with one who passed through and survived the horrors which he describes.

The moral character of De Foe, though bitterly attacked by the fury of those with whom he was engaged in controversy, if we take his writings as a test, was little deserving of impeachment; and we do not hesitate to believe that the piety and the virtuous habits which he often and ably advocates, exercised full influence on his conduct and formed his rule of life. One personal particular concerning him deserves notice—he plainly sup-

posed that, like Socrates, he was attended by a Dæmon. Whether, as Plutarch tells us of the great Sage, it presented itself to De Foe in a fit of sneezing, or according to the hypothesis of Plato, as a substantial whisper, is not now to be decided. The following are his own accounts:—

“ The course of his studies, aided perhaps by his misfortunes, led our author into many speculations upon the subject of spirits, and their communication with the visible world. From early life, his own mind had been strongly impressed with a belief in their reality; and there are some passages in his writings, from whence may be collected his opinion, that they exercise, more or less, a direct influence upon the affairs of men. He notices two ways by which the communication is maintained: First, by ‘ immediate, personal, and particular converse;’ and secondly, by ‘ these spirits acting at a distance, rendering themselves visible, and their transactions perceptible, on such occasions as they think fit, without any farther acquaintance with the person.’* He thought that God had posted an army of these ministering spirits round our globe, ‘ to be ready, at all events, to execute his orders, and to do his will; reserving still to himself to send express messengers of a superior rank on extraordinary occasions.’ These, he adds, ‘ may, without any absurdity, be supposed capable of assuming shapes, conversing with mankind by voice and sound, or by private notices of things, impulses, forebodings, misgivings, and other imperceptible communications to the minds of men, as God their great employer may direct.† But, upon the power of man to control or communicate at his will with these spiritual beings, he entertains doubts, and protests against the arts of conjuration.”—vol. iii. pp. 553, 554.

“ ‘ I firmly believe,’ says he, ‘ and have had such convincing testimonies of it that I must be a confirmed Atheist if I did not, that there is a converse of spirits, I mean those unembodied, and those that are incased in flesh. From whence, else, come all those private notices, strong impulses, involuntary joy, sadness, and foreboding apprehensions, of and about things immediately attending us, and this in the most important affairs of our lives. That there are such things, I think, I need not go about to prove; and I believe they are, next to the Scriptures, some of the best and most undeniable evidences of a future existence. It would be endless to fill this paper with the testimonies of learned and pious men; I could add to them a volume of my own experiences, some of them so strange as would shock your belief, though I could produce such proofs as would convince any man. I have had, perhaps, a greater variety of changes, accidents, and disasters in my short unhappy life, than any man, at least than most men alive; yet I had never any considerable mischief or disaster attending me, but sleeping or waking I have had notice of it before hand, and had I listened to these notices, I believe might have shunned the evil. Let no man think this a jest. I seriously acknowledge, and I do believe my neglect of these notices has been my great injury; and since I have ceased to neglect them, I

* *History of Magick*, p. 327.

† *History of Apparitions*, p. 56.

have been gaided to avoid even snares laid for my life, by no other knowledge of them, than by such notices and warnings; and more than that, have been guided by them to discover even the fact and the persons. I have living witnesses to produce, to whom I have told the particulars in the very moment, and who have been so affected with them, as that they have pressed me to avoid the danger, to retire, to keep myself up, and the like.' De Foe tells us, that had he not neglected the advice and the notice, he had been safe; but slighting both, he has fallen into the pit exactly as described to him. He says, that if it would be thought useful, he could descend to particulars; but it being a private case, he did not think it so material, and therefore avoided it."—vol. iii. pp. 555, 556.

Mr. Wilson supposes that a passage to the same effect in the *Vision of the Angelic World*, relates also to an incident in the writer's own life:—

"I know a man, who made it a rule always to obey these silent hints, and he has often declared to me, that when he obeyed them he never miscarried; and if he neglected them, or went on contrary to them, he never succeeded; and gave me a particular case of his own, among a great many others, wherein he was thus directed. He had a particular case befallen him, wherein he was under the displeasure of the Government, and was prosecuted for a misdemeanour, and brought to a trial in the King's Bench Court, where a verdict was brought against him, and he was cast; and times running very hard at that time, against the party he was of, he was afraid to stand the hazard of a sentence, and absconded, taking care to make due provision for his bail, and to pay them whatever they might suffer. In this circumstance, he was in great distress, and no way presented unto him but to fly out of the kingdom, which, being to leave his family, children, and employment, was very bitter to him, and he knew not what to do; all his friends advising him not to put himself into the hands of the law, which though the offence was not capital, yet in his circumstances seemed to threaten his utter ruin. In this extremity he felt one morning (just as he had awaked, and the thoughts of his misfortune began to return upon him), I say, he felt a strong impulse darting into his mind thus, *Write a letter to them*. It spoke so distinctly to him, and as it were forcibly, that as he has often said since, he can scarce persuade himself not to believe but that he heard it; but he grants that he did not really hear it too. However, it repeated the words daily and hourly to him, till at length walking about in his chamber where he was hidden, very pensive and sad, it jogged him again, and he answered aloud to it, as if it had been a voice, *Who shall I write to?* It returned immediately, *Write to the Judge*. This pursued him again for several days, till at length he took his pen, ink, and paper, and sat down to write, but knew not one word of what he should say, but *dabitur in hac hora*, he wanted not words. It was immediately impressed on his mind, and the words flowed upon his pen in a manner that even charmed himself, and filled him with expectations of success. The letter was so strenuous in argument, so pathetic in its

eloquence, and so moving and persuasive, that as soon as the judge read it, he sent him word he should be easy, for he would endeavour to make that matter light to him; and in a word never left, till he obtained leave to stop the prosecution, and restore him to his liberty and to his family."*—vol. iii. pp. 557, 558.

Little more remains to be added. It were to be wished that the latter days of De Foe had been passed in happiness and tranquillity. But it was determined otherwise; he was tormented with gout and stone, a merciless creditor threw him into gaol, and his son, to whom, for the joint benefit of his mother and sister, he had conveyed his little property, fraudulently converted it to his own use. Mr. Wilson prints a very touching letter from the aged sufferer, written but a few months before his death, which occurred, hastened, as may be too much feared, by these accumulated calamities, in 1731.

ART. III.—*The present condition and prospects of the Greek, or Oriental Church; with some Letters written from the Convent of the Strophades.* By the Rev. George Waddington, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Author of a "Visit to Greece," &c. &c. pp. 207. 8vo. London. Murray. 1829. 6s.

THE Greek Church!—What a multitude of bright recollections and glorious images does that name call up! Who can hear it pronounced, without seeing the martyrs, and the saints, and the holy doctors of ancient days rise up, and pass before him, in solemn and venerable procession? Who can hear it, without being instantly surrounded by the shades of Ignatius and Polycarp; of Origen and Athanasius; of Basil the Great, and Gregory the Divine, and him of the golden lips, the incomparable Chrysostom? Who can hear of the Greek Church, without feeling his heart burn within him at the thought, that from Greece we have received our literature, that through her we have received our religion, and that her's is the language in which the words of eternal life have been recorded? And then, on the other hand, how melancholy are the visions which follow these days of glory! How saddening is it to reflect on the degeneracy and decay of that Church, which was the first receptacle of the truth after it had been despised and rejected of the chosen people! With what oppression of heart do we watch her in her miserable progress through all the stages of her degradation: from her centuries of controversial distraction to the days of her decrepitude and dotage, followed as they have been by a dead palsy, which seems at times

* Vision of the Angelic World, p. 48.

to render it doubtful whether the breath of life have not fled for ever.

That the fortunes of the Greek Church should, more especially, be full of deep and solemn interest for a man like Mr. Waddington, can be a subject of surprise with no one who has ever heard his name. A distinguished scholar, an intelligent and active traveller, and a learned Christian Divine, may naturally be imagined to watch with intense anxiety the operation of every cause, which may, by possibility, affect the moral and political destinies of Greece. Animated by all the motives which may be supposed to prompt a man of noble attainments and elevated principles, he has here given to the public a brief account of this ancient and venerable communion—venerable even in her present state of humiliation, feebleness, and corruption. To this task Mr. Waddington has brought all the qualities that could well be desired: a mind stored with the literature of ancient Greece, furnished with abundant information as to its civil and ecclesiastical history, and accomplished with those still more interesting resources which are to be attained only by personal examination and inquiry. To these we may add a temper of singular moderation and liberality, which however, will never be found to have betrayed the author into dangerous laxity of speculation. But it is here necessary, in justice to Mr. Waddington, to apprise the reader, that they who may expect to find in this work a complete and detailed representation of the modern Greek Church, in its most comprehensive acceptation, will perhaps rise from the perusal with feelings of disappointment. For this disappointment, however the author cannot justly be held answerable; for his design embraces no such extent and variety. His sole purpose is to explore the condition and the resources of the *Church of Greece* at this day, with a view to ascertain what influence, either for good or evil, it is likely to exert in the present crisis of her fortunes. In the execution of this design, a very minute and elaborate account of her doctrines, usages, and discipline, would have been wholly out of place. Nothing more could be required in this department of the treatise than a vigorous and rapid sketch of her more essential peculiarities: and this has been executed by Mr. Waddington in such a manner, as to leave no doubt of his being fully prepared for more variety of detail, and greater amplitude of view, if such had been demanded by his undertaking.

In marking the course of melancholy decline, through which the Eastern Church has sunk to her present state, every reader of Ecclesiastical history must be forcibly struck with one circumstance;—namely, with the very early appearance of that tendency

to solemn trifling, which soon began to make the fine gold dim, and which may be said, at length, to have almost buried the spirit of religion under the load of worthless refinements and fantastic embellishments. As a modern instance of this species of nugacity, we may produce, not merely the superstitious veneration of the Greeks for the Cross, but the extremely "silly mysticism" with which it is sometimes justified by their gravest writers;—a mysticism as Mr. Waddington remarks "calculated for the understanding of a Cossack, and the learning of a Monk of Mount Athos." Of such absurdities Mr. Waddington has given us the following specimen from M. de Stourdza:

"La croix est un représentant de la structure humaine; elle semble uniquement faite pour l'homme, et ce genre de supplice caractérise symboliquement toute sa misère et sa grandeur. Debout, dominant de son front ce qui l'environne, les bras étendus comme pour embrasser cet espace immense dont il semble être le roi; les pieds fixés à cette vallée de larmes, la tête couronnée d'épines, emblèmes des soucis rongeurs qui l'accompagnent jusque dans la tombe, *voilà l'homme*, ecce homo, voilà l'adorable attitude de l'homme-dieu sur la terre. . . . Plus on médite, plus on se persuade que ce n'est que par le supplice de la croix que Jésus Christ pouvait caractériser en soi toutes les misères et les transgressions humaines, les expier, les racheter toutes, représenter collectivement le genre humain, comme un seul être," &c.—Again, at p. 77. "C'est par la divine croix que s'opère perpétuellement ce miracle: signe de foi, d'amour et d'espérance, ce trophée de la mort est en même tems le sanctuaire de la vie que notre pensée réclame au nom du médiateur éternel. Emblème de la force combinée à la résistance et remise en harmonie, la croix a racheté le passé; elle a confondu la justice et la miséricorde; elle seule nous dévoilera l'avenir."

Now, senseless and despicable as all this is, we think the reader may find its match in no less a work than the first Apology of Justin Martyr, the 55th section of which exhibits certain meditations on the same subject, in which the Cossack and the Monk of Mount Athos might find as much delight and edification as in the speculation of any modern visionary. The Holy Cross, is considered by the ancient Apologist as the mysterious representation of almost every instrument, and every species of agency by which the business of the world is carried on. The sea cannot be navigated without a mast and a sail, connected in the form of a Cross. The plough which cleaves the glebe, is of a similar shape. The spade, the pickaxe, and almost all the implements of handicraft, exhibit more or less accurately, the same form. Nay—the armies of the Heathen are, unconsciously compelled to march under the sign of the Cross, their very banners assuming that sacred appearance. And then, the erect posture and extended arms distinguish the human form from that of the brutes that

perish: so that the Cross is the figure which marks the supremacy of man over the inferior creation. But this is not all.—The holy Father fancies that he perceives the figure of the Cross even in the formation of the human nose! “Man”—he says—“ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου τεταμένον τὸν λεγόμενον μὲτωτῆρα φέρει, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλῳ δέικνυσι ἢ τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ σταύρου. And to this mysterious resemblance he actually imagines that there is some allusion, in Lamentations iv. 20, which he quotes thus,—πνεῦμα (πρὸ*) προσώπου ἡμῶν χριστος κυριος,—the breath *before* our face is the anointed Lord, or Christ the Lord! Possibly, M. de Stourdza may have had these passages in his thoughts when he broke forth into the extravagant mysticism above adverted to. At all events, after such a specimen of absurdity from the writings of an author like Justin, one can hardly wonder at finding the body of Christianity overgrown, in time, with lichens of a similar fantastic growth.

Another melancholy symptom of corruption, it is well known, was the taint and savour of superstitious vanity, which speedily began to defile the most solemn rites, and even the very sacraments of the Church, and against which no *sanitary* line could be provided by the vigilance or sagacity of her guardians. Instances of this might easily be produced in almost endless abundance. A remarkable one occurs to us from the writings of John Chrysostom. In his Twelfth Homily on the First Epistle to the Corinthians—after vehemently condemning the dissoluteness, the gambling, the profaneness, which then often disgraced the profession of the Gospel—after reprobating the pernicious influence of the theatrical shows, the sums lavished on worthless and infamous performers, and the brutalizing effects of the sanguinary public spectacles†—he proceeds to denounce the riotous, and worse than Pagan orgies, which frequently disgraced the Christian weddings—to deplore the corruption of taste which could render such abominations tolerable—and to describe their pernicious influence upon the female character.‡ And he then adverts, most indignantly, to certain absurd and superstitious practices which then prevailed even at the baptism of children. Among these was the custom which required the nurse, or female attendant, to dip her finger in mud, and to smear the forehead of the infant with it, as a charm against the evil eye. “God,” exclaims the preacher, “hath honoured thee with a spiritual unction; and dost thou pollute thy child with mire? Dost thou do this, when thou

* The word πρὸ is not found in the Septuagint.

† Τι δὲ λέγειν τὰς μαγανείας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ἵπποδρομίαις; τὰς ἐν ταῖς τῶν θηρίων ἀμίλλαις; πάσης γὰρ ἐκεῖνα παραπληξίας μεσῶ, παιδεύει τὸν δῆμον συνεχῶς ἀηλεῖ τῆνα ἔχειν καὶ ὤμον καὶ ἀπάνδραπον τρόπον, καὶ γυμνάζει ὁρῶν ἀνδράπους σπαρτατομένους, καὶ αἷμα καταρρέον, καὶ θηρίων ἀμύττητα πάντα συγχέουσιν.—Chrysost. vol. x. p. 104. Ed. Month.

‡ Chrysost. vol. x. p. 104—106.

shouldst fortify his temples with impregnable safety, by impressing on his forehead the cross of Christ? What satanic madness is this!"* He also mentions another usage, of still more incredible folly. When a child was brought to baptism, a number of lamps were lighted, each lamp having the name of a different saint affixed to it. The lamps were then suffered to burn out, and the child was named after that saint whose lamp was last extinguished; and by this process length of life was supposed to be infallibly secured for the infant!†

It would be a distressing task to note and describe minutely the deadly effects of "leperous distillments," such as these, on the "wholesome life" of Christianity, or to show how, in the course of ages, the poison

"hath barked about,
Most lazar-like, with vile and loathsome crust,
All its smooth body!"

Other causes were unfortunately at work, which contributed, most actively, to the consummation of the evil. Every one knows what the religion of the Gospel has suffered from the restless itch of controversy, that *ecclesiarum scabies*, which derived so fearful a malignity from the susceptible temperament of the Greek, and which has inflicted such foul disfigurement on the lineaments of heavenly truth. Let us pass on to the eighth century. Let us contemplate, courageously, the calamitous and afflicting result of the conflicts which agitated the Church respecting the use and adoration of images—conflicts which ended in the final revolt of the Latin Church, and the solid establishment of the temporal dominion of the Papacy. The use, and perhaps the adoration, of pictures and of statues, was firmly fixed as early as the end of the sixth century. The practice, we may readily suppose, had almost irresistible charms for the vivid fancy of the Greeks and Asiatics; and accordingly, by the beginning of the eighth century, the idolatry of the Christian Church seems to have nearly filled up its measure of abomination. At that period, however, it was that a voice of arraignment was lifted up against this abuse, loud and potent enough to startle the conscience of the timorous Greek. The scornful reproaches of the rejected and outcast people of God might have been heard, to the end of time, in contemptuous silence. But how could the Christians of the East, listen with indifference, to that tremendous power, which had gone forth, with the praises of Allah, in its mouth, and a two-edged sword in

* Ὁ Θεός σε μύρῳ ἐπιτίμησε πνευματικῷ, καὶ σὺ βορβόρῳ μολύνεις τὸ παιδίον; . . . δὲν τὸν σαυρὸν ἐπιγράφειν τῷ μετώπῳ, τὴν ἀσφαλὲν ἄμαχον παρέχοντα· σὺ δὲ ταῦτα ἀφείς ἐπὶ τὸν Σατανικὸν ἄνθρωπον καταπίπτεις, κ. τ. λ.—Chrysost. vol. x. p. 107.

† Chrysost. vol. x. p. 107.

its hand, to smite down the worshippers of wood and stone. It is not wonderful that the thunders, which, even then, threatened to shake the imperial city herself, should sound like the accents of the Lord's controversy against a degenerate people, and should seem to accuse them of dignifying the superstition of their pagan forefathers with the sacred name of Christianity. Murmurs were heard to rise against a form of devotion, at variance with the sacred text, with the usage of primitive times, and with the dictates of common sense; and the elements of discontent and aversion were consolidated by Leo of Isauria, an unlettered peasant, who mounted the throne of Constantinople with a deep abhorrence of the popular infatuation. From him the sect of the Iconoclasts received an impulse, which in the course of half a century, extorted from the Eastern Church a reluctant abjuration of idolatry—drove the incurably idolatrous Church of the West into open revolt and final separation—threw the Pope into the arms of Charlemagne—armed the Papal See with secular majesty—and, after all, was followed by an ignominious relapse into the former absurdity and superstition. The Seventh General Council* pronounced the worship of visible representations to be conformable to Scripture, to Tradition, to opinions of the Fathers, and the decrees of former Synods; and the acts of that Council, form, to this day, an integral portion of the faith of the Greek Church! It should be remembered, however, that this relapse can hardly be considered as complete. Carved and graven images are still an abomination to the Greek. He contents himself with pictures, and even, in these, is intolerant of a faithful and animated representation. It is well known that, perhaps, the most intoxicating compliment ever received by Titian himself, was the indignant rebuke of a Greek priest, who complained that his figures were scandalous and execrable; that they positively stood out from the canvass; and that a man might just as innocently kneel before a statue. And there is probably many a sign-post in this country which exhibits the figure of St. George with a fidelity and spirit that would grievously disturb the devotions of an Eastern Christian.

While the cauldron of theological discord was heated with these fires, another ingredient was unhappily thrown in which caused it to blaze, and boil, and bubble, with additional fury. It was the eighth century that produced the celebrated controversy respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost. The word *filioque* had been for more than 100 years quietly introduced by the Churches of France and Spain into the Creed of Constantinople; and this interpolation was now loudly condemned by the Orientals

* A. D. 787.

as an impious attempt to corrupt the Catholic faith, which had been irrevocably settled by the first Nicene Council. This controversy, after raging with violence for a length of time, appeared at last to have been well nigh forgotten. Unhappily, however, the eleventh century was destined to witness its revival; and the insolence of Leo IX. rendered the breach between the eastern and western churches absolutely irreparable. Three legates had been despatched by this pontiff to Constantinople, for the avowed purpose of restoring peace. It soon appeared that submission to the sovereign bishop of the West was the only form of pacification they were instructed to effect. The vigorous resistance of the Patriarch Cerularius provoked them to an act of insane arrogance. In the year 1054 they publicly, in the Church of St. Sophia, pronounced the excommunication of the patriarch and his adherents. They deposited their imprecations on the grand altar. They shook the dust of the impious city from their feet, and so they departed. They left the controversy bleeding, and the two grand members of Christendom in a state of hopeless alienation, which has continued to this day incurable.

In the fifteenth century, indeed, a grand but abortive effort was made to heal this schism; and perhaps the history of the Church affords few scenes of more picturesque, though melancholy interest, than the Synod of Florence, at which this pacification and union were attempted, and, for a short time, apparently accomplished. We have, first, the spectacle of John Palæologus the Second, trembling for an empire which then was tottering towards its ruin, and anxious to unite the East and West against the common enemy of Christendom. We see him embarking, with his patriarch and his clergy, and a numerous train, not in a fleet of his own, but on board the Papal galleys, for the purpose of meeting the spiritual autocrat in a general council. We observe with a mixture of sorrow and contempt his ostentatious poverty; the outward magnificence, and the hollow courtesy, with which the successor of Constantine the Great (in one sense, at least, *magnus mirandusque cliens*) was received at Venice and Ferrara. We then attend him to the place of assembly, where his eyes were opened to the arrogance of the western pontiff, who had contrived that the first seat should be for himself, the second for the emperor, and the third for the eastern patriarch—an arrangement which drew from Palæologus the mournful confession that he now perceived that lust of worldly honour reigned in that assembly, and not the influences of the Holy Spirit.* Then follow the delibe-

* “Nunc compertissimum habeo omnem hanc operosam cathedrarum delineationem non ad Synodum exornandam, sed ad superbam locorum presumptionem, et secularem pompam amplificandam spectare, et a Spiritus Sancti institutionibus quam longissimè

rations of the Council itself, extending through nine months and twenty-five sessions, and ending only in the submission of the Greeks and their re-union with their western brethren;—of the Greeks, that is, with the solitary exception of the inflexible Mark of Ephesus, whom neither intreaties, nor threats, nor bribes, could move from his resistance to this portentous reconciliation.* Lastly, we have the return of the emperor, and the patriarch, and the Greek clergy, to Constantinople, bearing back with them to the imperial city the Act of Re-union, the instrument of their ignominious subjection to the western pontiff, and of their own defection from the primitive and undefiled faith:—we hear the murmurs and the execrations with which they were received, by their exasperated countrymen, as little better than traitors and apostates—we witness their instant and penitent avowal of their guilty weakness—their loud complaints of the frauds and artifices with which they had been entangled, and the hardships and terrors by which they had been assailed and overborne—and finally we observe the impetuous return of the Greek Church to the faith and discipline which, according to their own confession, its defenders had so unworthily betrayed!

The Decree of Union, as settled at this Council, was indeed a

abhorre.

These are the words of the emperor, quoted from Syropulus by Weisman, vol. i. p. 1274.

We cannot resist the temptation to introduce here an anecdote, which the same writer has inserted, also from Syropulus, illustrative of the sarcastic contempt with which the anxiety and distress of the Greeks was treated by the Latins. "Day after day," says the Greek Ecclesiarch, "did the legates besiege the gates of the papal palace, and intreated that instant succour might be despatched for the preservation of the imperial city; even a couple of galleys would be thankfully accepted! A whole month was wasted in fruitless and unpitied supplication; till, at last, the Greeks were prompted by despair to pour out their sorrows, in private, to their Latin acquaintances. That their new friends and allies were miserable comforters will appear from the following colloquy:—'Why,' said one Ambrosius to a weeping and trembling suppliant from Constantinople—'why should you waste yourselves with grief and terror? Only let the union be once accomplished, and then you will find us ready with overpowering and irresistible supplies. We will cover the sea with our fleets, and the land with our armies!' 'Alas!' replied the Greek—'what will your mighty expeditions do for us, when our wives are seized, and peemed up in gangs, to be sold into slavery?' 'What! man—be of good courage,' exclaimed Ambrosius;—'why, we shall soon utterly exterminate these sacrilegious hordes of Mahometans. We shall then have liberty and leisure to search among our spoils for your wives and your children, and to grope for the particles and fragments of your plundered property; and then, every man shall have his own again, and more to boot.' With this celestial *ambrosia*, says Syropulus, did *Ambrosius* solace our despondency, and encourage us to look for better days!"—(p. 1274.) The public proceedings of the Latins, it must be confessed, were in faithful accordance with these divine consolations of Ambrosius!

* Gibbon, with his usual sarcastic levity, speaks of "another popular and orthodox protester;" in allusion to the rather amusing fact, mentioned by Syropulus, that a favourite hound, who usually lay quietly on the foot-cloth of the emperor's throne, barked most furiously—and, as some may have thought, most ominously—while the Act of Union was reading!

yoke which, if it had not instantly been shaken off, would have reduced the East to the same condition of spiritual servitude which had long degraded the West. It not only affirmed the double procession of the Holy Ghost, maintained the indifference of leavened or unleavened bread in the celebration of the Eucharist, and asserted with distinctness the doctrine of purgatory—but it claimed the fullest supremacy for the Bishop of Rome as successor of St. Peter, and Christ's vicar upon earth.* The Article, however, with which we are more immediately concerned, is that which relates to the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, and which at this day, not only helps to perpetuate the alienation of the eastern and western churches generally, but seems to place an almost insuperable barrier in the way of an union between the Greek and Protestant communions. Whenever a Protestant converses with a Greek or Asiatic priest, and urges the multitude of Romish corruptions which the Reformation has swept away, he is sure to be encountered with this fatal objection to the Nicene Creed in its present form. The Bishop of Smyrna told Mr. Jowett that with them, it is considered, not merely as an erroneous doctrine, but *as a very great blasphemy*, to speak of the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son.† Again, observes the same writer,

“it was a matter of some pain to me to find other ecclesiasties dwelling on this point of the procession of the Holy Ghost. With the learned Bishop of Scio, I had long conversations on these and other theological subjects. On my mentioning the name of Bishop Burnet, and the conciliating opinion of that prelate, who considers the controverted doctrine concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost not to be sufficient ground for a separation between churches, he was very desirous to take down the name of this celebrated expositor of our Articles; still withholding his assent from this moderate view, and strenuously dwelling on this as an irreconcilable difference between the eastern and western churches.”

Similar to this is the testimony of another modern traveller.

“In conversation with their prelates,” says Dr. Hunt, in his account of Mount Athos,‡ “and some of their well-educated caloyers, I so often found what I judged to be religious moderation, that I was once induced to show them a Greek Version of the English Liturgy; but, when they saw that we kept Easter at the time fixed by the Gregorian or Romish Calendar, that we laid down no precise rules about the mode of fasting, that our Creed asserts the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son—I saw such a disposition to controversy arise, that I ever afterwards abstained from allusion to similar subjects.”

* See this Decree in Weisman, vol. i. p. 1275, who gives a concise and clear account of this Synod, or rather this *Cabal*, as it is called by Bishop Bull; pp. 1271—1278.

† Christian Researches (1822), p. 17.

‡ Walpole's Mem. p. 222.

With regard to the doctrine of transubstantiation, it seems abundantly clear that it did not originally form any part of the doctrine of the Greek Church. She was forcibly inoculated with it by the officious and intrusive quackery of the Vatican; and, to say the truth, she does not seem to have taken it very favourably. However, there can be no doubt that the disease is now in her constitution, though in a much milder form than that which has so frightfully disfigured her sister of the West. It cannot, we imagine, but be regarded as a most remarkable circumstance that this prodigy should first have reared its head in the Latin Church, rather than in the Greek. Could any person have speculated *à priori* on the subject, he would assuredly have been disposed to expect that, if the perversion was to appear at all, it would rather be among the people most eminently distinguished for their warm and vivid temperament. It is a doctrine which powerfully recommends itself to a glowing imagination: and it must be confessed that the Eastern Fathers have not been at all sparing of excitements, well adapted to stimulate an ardent fancy even to this monstrous extravagance. “When you see this body before you,” says the most eloquent of those Fathers, in speaking of the elements of the Eucharist—“say to yourself, *this* is the body which was nailed to the Cross, but which death could not confine. It was *this* which the Sun beheld fixed to the accursed tree, and instantly veiled his light. It was this that rent the vail, and burst the rocks, and convulsed the earth. Do you wish to comprehend the full extent of its powers? Ask the daughter of affliction who touched the hem of the garment that encircled it. Ask the sea which bore this body on the surface. Ask Satan himself—‘What has inflicted on thee this incurable wound? What has robbed thee of thy strength? Whence these chains and this captivity?’ He will answer, that *this* crucified body is the foe that hath broken his weapons, and hath bruised his head, and hath exposed to shame and defeat the principalities and powers of his kingdom. Ask of Death and say unto him—‘How hast thou been rifled of thy sting, and how hath thy victory been wrested from thee? How is it that thou hast become the laughing stock of youths and maidens—thou that wast the terror both of the ungodly and the righteous?’ They will both answer by accusing *this* mysterious body, of their discomfiture and disgrace. For when this body was crucified, then the dead arose—and the prison of the grave was burst open—and the tenants of the tomb were set free—and the warders of hell were terror-stricken.”—And, again, still more strongly—“Behold, I shew you here, not angels, nor archangels, nor the heaven of heavens,—but the Master of all these! Behold—the most precious of all things is exposed to your gaze;—

and, not only so, but you are allowed to touch it, and to handle it; nay—not merely to touch it, but actually to feed upon it.”* Supposing a previous disposition to take figures of rhetoric, and to convert them into articles of faith, it must be allowed that we have here a pretty strong temptation to the process: and therefore one cannot but wonder that the Western Church should have taken precedence of these fervid, poetic Eastern Divines, in bringing this gigantic and splendid abuse into the Christian world.

The truth of the matter seems to be justly and temperately stated by Ricaut, who says “the question about transubstantiation hath not long been controverted in the Greek Church, but like other abstruse notions, not necessary to be determined, hath lain quiet and disentangled, wound upon the bottom of its own thread, until faction, and malice, and the schools have so twisted and ravelled the twine, that the end will never be found. It is difficult to make the Greeks understand the right state of the question; for observing that there is a sacramental change granted to be of the bread, they immediately consider it as no other than a change which is substantial. Nor is it a wonder that the Greeks follow the Latins in this doctrine, since the most learned men among them taking their education in Italy, have in all points, where neither custom nor councils have determined, taken up their doctrines according to the position of the Roman Schools, whom, therefore, they name by the distinction of *Λατινότροποις*. For, really, others, which have had their education in Greece only, do not follow this novelty; and they which do, contradict their own liturgy, viz. that of St. Chrysostom, which is common to them† both.”

The Latins, however, did not confine their cares for the orthodoxy of the East to a peaceable communication of *the truth* through the medium of the Italian schools. The seventeenth century was witness to a shameful attempt on the independence of the Greek Church by the emissaries of Rome. Mahometan Constantinople was gratified by a disgraceful spectacle of dissension, and of stratagem, deeply afflicting and humiliating to a truly Christian heart. The compact discipline of Rome, though it could not effect the subjugation of the Greek Church, made dismal inroads upon her primitive doctrine; and by the artifices and intrigues of the pontifical emissaries, some of the papal “opinions still remain engraved upon the public tablets of that Church, and on the conscience of its members.”

* Chrys. Hom. xxiii. in 1 Corinth. vol. x. p. 217—219. Ed. Bened.

† Ricaut, *Greek Church*, p. 131—134. Ed. 1679. Those who are curious to see the miserable trifling with which the solemnity of the Lord's Supper is disguised by the ritual of the Greek Church, may consult Ricaut, p. 190—200.

A brief and interesting detail of this hateful intrusion is given by Mr. Waddington. Short, however, as it is, it is too long for us to insert here. Our readers must therefore be satisfied with a still more condensed account.

Early in the sixteenth century, Cyrillus Lucaris, a liberal and intelligent native of Candia, was advanced to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, then the very centre of Jesuitical intrigue. He had merited the hatred of the Papists by some complaints of their aggressions and their intolerance. He was speedily deposed and banished to Rhodes, but as speedily restored to his dignity! He was not long suffered to remain at peace. In 1623 and 1624 he was accused to the Porte as a fomentor of rebellion. The charge was false, and fell to the ground. The failure of this attempt was only followed by one infinitely more extravagant and insane. The Pope was resolved to start a patriarch of his own!—and a patriarch he accordingly despatched to Constantinople, with a suitable assortment of Bishops in his train. His Sublimity the Sultan, who, he it always remembered, is head of the Greek Church, felt this to be an intolerable invasion of his Ecclesiastical Supremacy. The Bishops were instantly consigned to prison, and his Holiness's *opposition Patriarch* was fain to seek safety in flight! But what could ever repel the pertinacity of Monks and Jesuits? Unfortunately, the enlightened spirit of Lucar soon furnished the Romish Emissaries with means of fresh hostility. He had, actually, set up a press at Constantinople,—a thing which neither Catholic or Turkish ears could endure to hear of! The plot against pontiff and prophet was immediately denounced, and the fragments of this engine of treason and blasphemy was soon scattered abroad by the hands of the Janissaries. In 1638, Cyril was strangled in his palace, by order of the government! He left behind him a “Confession of faith,” of which an abstract is given by Mr. Waddington, and of which eight articles are, apparently, levelled, though more or less directly, against the Romish principles. Among other things, it excluded saints and martyrs from the mediatory office, and limited the number of sacraments to two,—in manifest opposition to the received opinions of his own Church. With regard to the Eucharist, this confession positively and plainly denies any miraculous transformation of the elements, and affirms that there is no other presence of the body of Christ, than that which is effected by faith,—and no *such* presence as is taught by “the vain device of transubstantiation.”* The last article of all, places the departed in a condition of immediate

* Παρουσίαν, ἣν ἡ πίστις παύσθησι καὶ προσφέρει, οὐχ ἣν ἡ ἐφευρεθεῖσα ἐκκλησία διδάσκει ΜΕΤΟΥΣΙΩΣΙΣ.

happiness or condemnation, and discredits the fable of purgatory—*τὸν περὶ Καθαρτηγίου μῦθον*—a fable which at no time appears to have obtained any honour in Greece.

A long and stormy period of dissension followed the death of Lucar. His ashes were scarcely cold before his person and opinions were anathematized in a Synod assembled by his successor Cyril of Beræa, a furious adherent of the Pope. In 1642, a second assault was made on the Heresies of Lucar, by the Synod of Yassi, in Moldavia. Its labours were chiefly directed against those articles of his confession, which were thought to be tainted with the Calvinistic heresy. In the mean time the disputes between Claude and the Sorbonists of France penetrated even the recesses of Greece. The French Ambassador, de Nointel, condescended to canvass the divines of Constantinople; and the exertions of the theological diplomatist were rewarded with no less than twenty "*Confessions de Foi des Grecs*," which were sent to enrich the Archives of the Port Royalists, and were published in their celebrated work, "*La Perpetuité de la Foi de l'Eglise Catholique touchant l'Eucharistie*." The triumph of the Romish party, such as it was, may be said to have been completed at the Synod assembled by Dositheus, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and by the compilation of the Anatolian confession, in 1672; which inculcates "the divine origin of the seven mysteries (or sacraments)—the actual change of the elements in the Eucharist, and the final sentence of the dead at the day of judgment." And thus, says Mr. Waddington, "the permanent and visible results of this long and various contest may be reduced to these: the final independence of the Greek Church;—the apostacy of a small proportion of its members to the Communion of Rome;—and the adoption of the doctrine of transubstantiation, in the place of the loose and uncertain notions which had before prevailed on the subject."

It is proper to mention here, that the Protestants did not disdain a conflict with the Papists for the body of the Greek Church. The ambassadors of Holland and of England contended with the Jesuits for the signatures of the Greek Clergy, when the question was agitated between Claude and Arnaud respecting the true original doctrine of the Eucharist. But, as might have been foreseen, they were no match for their adversaries! And the result was, as we have stated above, the adherence of a large majority of the Greeks to the Romish propositions. Besides, it must not be disguised, that the insatiable and overbearing ambition of Rome is not an object of deeper aversion to the Greek, than the heretical doctrine, and the languid discipline of the Protestant. We have already remarked the abhorrence with

which they regard the doctrine of the double procession of the Holy Spirit. It is vain to tell them that we do not reckon this among the principles of vital importance. It is vain to tell them that we have adopted this phrase from the Latin confessions—not because it essentially aids our conceptions of the mysterious relation between the three branches or persons of the Godhead—but, because we deem this mode of speech to be, on the whole, more conformable than any other to the language in which the Scriptures have spoken on the subject. All this the Greek rejects, as an unfaithful handling of the Divine Word; in short, as an intolerable blasphemy, which must for ever alienate his Church from the Reformed Communion. With regard to discipline, his reprobation is equally unceremonious. We have no sacerdotal confession; our Church therefore scarcely merits the name! It is without the axis on which alone the whole Ecclesiastical system can revolve with regularity and steadiness. And then, no tongue can tell the contempt and disgust with which the orientals look on the ungodly and most disgraceful desuetude, into which the practice of fasting has sunk among the gluttonous followers of Luther. They consider this as indicating almost the lowest stage of religious degeneracy—as little less than a virtual abandonment of Christianity itself. On this point their austerity far outdoes even the rigours of Popery. A Papist will generally find that the treasury of dispensations may be opened by the plea of age, or infirm health, or by some other key.* But no dispensation can absolve a Greek,—a Greek Priest more especially,—from the duty of macerating his body and undermining his constitution, during the prescribed periods of religious abstinence. The exigencies of ill health can no more be allowed to suspend this discipline, than the pressure of poverty would be allowed by us to dispense with the eighth commandment. It is better that the patient should die a martyr to his piety than violate one jot or tittle of the sacred injunctions of the Church! Of this a most remarkable instance

* Instances may *occasionally* be found in which a Romish Priest will unlock this treasury without much ceremony. We recollect being once considerably amused with an anecdote illustrative of this. A Catholic gentleman of Ireland had invited his priest to dinner on a fast-day. To the surprise of the minister a very fine fillet of veal was seen smoking on the board. The host apologised most humbly for this uncanonical apparition, alleging that he had found it impossible to procure any fish. The table, however, was abundantly provided with vegetables. When the priest was asked what he would choose to take, his entertainer was vastly relieved on hearing him reply—"I thank you, I will just take a slight indolgence of that *vale!*" It may readily be imagined that the eyes of the attendants instantly brightened at this most effectual of all dispensations. They were too good Catholics to decline the example of their spiritual guide. The news of the indolgence of course found its way to the kitchen; and the gratitude of the devout menials was amply evinced by the total demolition of the *vale*. We apprehend that it might be more difficult to find a Greek Papa who would have sanctioned this touching and tasting of the forbidden thing!

is mentioned by Mr. Jowett.* An aged sister of the superior of the convent of Mar Michael at Jerusalem, was sinking under the extreme rigour of the Advent Fast, which continues for four weeks. She complained to Mr. Jowett that her appetite was gone, and begged that he would administer some medicine which might restore it. Perceiving that her illness was entirely the effect of bad and low living, he ventured to suggest that a rather more generous diet would be the only remedy for her stomach; and he even was rash enough to hint, that a little good broth, at least, might be advisable. Upon this she grew absolutely outrageous. She walked up to him with the air of a termagant, and asked him whether he wished her to neglect her religion and her duty to God? And she, afterwards, spoke repeatedly to Mr. Jowett's servant in terms of supreme contempt for his master's want of skill, who was unable to restore her appetite without disturbing her fast.

It is impossible to contemplate without the deepest respect this conscientious and inflexible adherence to religious principle. But, then, it is also impossible to witness without bitter regret this utter confusion of the means with the end; more especially when we consider the inevitable consequences of so erroneous a scheme of belief and practice. In the Greek Church it is well known that a very long fast is often followed by scenes of inordinate riot and excess. By his protracted and grievous mortification of the flesh, the devotee has purchased something like a right to the comforts of free, and even licentious indulgence; and the priests themselves are compelled to tolerate this. Nay, they do not always refuse to give it a partial sanction. During the period of abstinence the spirit of devotion was manifested by unsparing self-denial; when the period of festivity comes round, the same spirit is manifested in another manner more appropriate to the season! Whether he is afflicting his inward man with meagre and windy provender, or whether he is gorging himself to the very throat with generous gastronomy, in either case the religionist is equally persuaded that he is comporting himself like a devout and faithful son of the Church.† We cannot imagine these violent alternations of emptiness and fulness to be good either for flesh or spirit. In this country, at least, we should

* *Christian Researches*, 1826, p. 291.

† Speaking of the pilgrims who visit the Holy City, Mr. Jowett tells us, that many of them "will think it sinful to eat meat, but no sin to become intoxicated with wine or brandy, two or three days in the week, being fast days." Again, they will "pray aloud, beat their breasts, weep bitterly, and strike the ground with their foreheads; but on a subsequent occasion, when some festival sets them for a short space at liberty from the rigour of a long penance, they rush with no less eagerness into excess of riot. They consider it to be doing honour to a saint's day to feast luxuriously, so far as their means permit."—*Chr. Res. in Syria*, &c., p. 331.

tremble for the introduction of such a system. If, for instance, the municipal festivities of Easter were to be preceded in our turtle-engulfing capital, by six weeks of rigid inanition, how terrific would be periodical augmentation of apoplectic cases!

The end of all fasting—it should never be forgotten by rational beings—is to make the body obedient to the spirit, in righteousness and true holiness. The perfection of bodily discipline is, in truth, to reduce the ignoble portion of us—the material frame—as nearly as possible, to a state of neutrality; to prevent it from becoming a downright rebel, or a useless ally; to hinder it from weighing down the noble principles of our nature to the earth, or from embarrassing its operations by languor and dejection. And this undoubtedly would be best accomplished, not by a distribution of our lives between repletion and exhaustion, but by an habitual moderation equally remote from rigour or excess. With a view to the promotion of this most desirable end, one can hardly suppress a wish that the discipline of Protestant churches were strong enough to enforce the observance of occasional days of comparatively sparing and abstemious diet. It would answer many excellent purposes of religion and morality. And we cannot help thinking that, among the higher and middling classes at least, it would greatly diminish the number of hepatic cases, considerably reduce the sale of Mr. Abernethy's book, formidably abridge the emoluments of the dealers in blue-pill, and supersede, in a great measure, the necessity for that dreadful sentence,

Severest known in medicinal law—

A three months' banishment to Cheltenham Spa!

But we are digressing most vilely from the Greek Church, and, we fear too, from the boundary-line of the reader's patience and long suffering.—On the monastic system of Greece Mr. Waddington has a short but most intelligent and interesting chapter; in which he avoids much minute detail, as wholly inconsistent with the plan of his work, and presents us briefly with the result of his reading and reflection. In practice it appears that the monachism of the East has been absolutely blameless, as compared with similar institutions in the West. It has never been the engine of spiritual despotism, and but seldom the retreat of gross hypocrisy and sensuality. But there is, nevertheless, in its *theory*, as Mr. Waddington informs us, a principle eminently dangerous to the very life of Christianity. According to the representations of Mr. de Stourdza, the original and genuine monk was a being self-devoted to the curse of God, for the sake of his brethren who remained exposed to the storms and temptations of

the world.* In the course of time it seems to have occurred to religious and contemplative men, that if this process of *atonement* could be advantageously carried on by an individual, the same process must necessarily be efficacious in proportion to the number of the self-devoted victims; and hence arose communities of holy men, whose innocence and virtue were constantly ascending to heaven, as an expiation for the misdeeds of the wicked! If this be a just representation of the origin of monastic institutions, it is impossible for the heart of man to conceive a more tremendous perversion of divine truth, or rather a more frightful evidence that the truth had been sealed up from the eyes and ears of mankind. The eternal Son of God hath visited the earth to take away the sins of the world; and yet there are found among the sons of men persons presumptuous enough to imagine themselves worthy to repeat and continue the process of expiation, and others ignorant or credulous enough to rely on its efficacy. The worship of saints as intercessors in behalf of men—the adoration of the Virgin as the grand and sovereign Mediatrix, who alone can render our devotions acceptable to the Father of mercies—all sink into nothing compared with this prodigy of presumption. The good offices of beings supposed to be already before the presence of God, and delivered from the burden of the flesh, is a chimera for which, with some effort of the fancy, one can, perhaps, find a slight palliation. But that mortals, still groaning under the load of this mortal tabernacle, should imagine themselves in a condition to sustain the office which has, once for all, been already fulfilled by him who was the perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world—that this should be so, is enough to send dejection—we had almost said, despair—into the hearts of those who distinctly know and love the truth. On reflection, however, a melancholy consolation is derived from the recollection that the Scriptures were, in all probability, equally unknown both to the persons with whom the abuse originated, and to those to whom its delusive advantages were offered. Had the Bible been, from the first, universally accessible to the Christian world, it is scarcely possible that such indignity should have been offered to that name, which is the only one whereby we may be saved.

A similar impiety appears, according to the account of the same writer, to have intruded itself into the Greek Church, respecting the Episcopal office. “The orthodox Church,” says de Stourdza, “regards the bishops as holocausts smoking on the

* His words are—“A être anathème pour leurs frères demeurés en proie aux orages et tentations.” . . . “L’institution des ordres monastiques n’est fondée que sur l’idée fondamentale d’une expiation volontaire d’un innocent pour le coupable.”—*Stourdza*.

high places, an atonement for the sins of her children; and she believes that the holiness of the sacrifice can only be perfected by celibacy." And thus he accounts for the practice which has for ages prevailed in that Church, of taking its prelates from the convent; while the inferior clergy have been actually compelled to marry, and to quit the priesthood on the death of their wives! Really, we recollect nothing in popery equal to this. It would be an inexpressible relief to hear such notions as these formally and distinctly disavowed by the most enlightened divines of the Eastern Church; for, in very truth, they amount to no less than a most impious substitution of the fancies of men, for the gracious and inscrutable counsels of God in the redemption of mankind.

The metropolis of eastern monachism, it is well known, is Mount Athos, or the holy mountain, as it is usually called. Of this remarkable district, with its twenty-two monasteries, it does not fall within the design of Mr. Waddington to give us any description. They who are curious about such matters may find ample satisfaction in the tenth and eleventh chapters of Ricaut; and they will further be gratified by a perusal of the "Account of the Monastic Institutions and Libraries on the Holy Mountain," published by Mr. Walpole in his *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*.^{*} The picture here exhibited of the consecrated inhabitants of Athos—the *gens æterna in quâ nemo nascitur*—is remarkably curious and interesting. It appears that in one respect, at least, the Rules are framed with a view to place the holy community quite above temptation or suspicion. Not only are women forbidden to enter the convent, but not a female animal of any kind is suffered to set foot on the peninsula—not a cow, not a ewe, not a hen is to be seen. The inhabitants therefore have no milk, butter, cheese, or eggs, except when these articles are imported from the islands, or from the neighbourhood. Milk has sold at sevenpence an *oke* ($2\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.), when wine cost only twopence. Oxen only are used for ploughing, and mules for riding. Nay, the caloyers[†] assure every stranger who visits them, that no female animal could live three days on Mount Athos. And they affirm this, with all commendable solemnity, while the doves are building their nests in the thickets, swallows hatching their young under the sheds, and vermin multiplying in their dirty cells, and about their not much cleaner persons. But, what is strangest of all, this whimsical prejudice is respected even by the Mahometans. The Turkish aga, or governor of the district, whose residence is at Chariess, is compelled, during the

^{*} Pages 198—230.

[†] The caloyers are καλοῦρεῖς, good priests—by way of eminence; or, according to another etymology, καλόγεροι, good old Fathers.

period of his superintendence, to leave his harem behind him ! It will hardly be thought surprizing if his excellency should think it but fair to solace himself for this very tiresome attention to the law of the Christians, by an occasional forgetfulness of his own. An instance of this was witnessed by Dr. Hunt. He happened to visit Cariess at Easter. The bells were ringing, cannons and muskets were incessantly firing, the liturgy in honour of the festival was chaunting, numbers of idle boys and noisy pilgrims were filling up the harmony with all their might—and, there was his excellency the aga, smoking his pipe, magnanimously drunk, in the very midst of them all !

The same writer, however, who presents us with this amusing picture, bears honourable testimony to the respectability of these religious fraternities.

“ The dragomen of the English and other embassies at the Porte,” says Dr. Hunt, “ spoke much of the vices and gross ignorance of the Greek caloyers. This representation is very incorrect ; their contempt arose more from sectarian animosity than any other cause. The dragomen or interpreters at Pera are generally Romanists, or as the Greeks call them, Latin schismatics. Defects there certainly are in this religious republic : but even in its present oppressed and degraded state the establishment is a useful one. It contributes to preserve the language of Greece from being corrupted and superseded by that of the conquerors. It checks, or rather, entirely prevents the defection of Christians to Mahometanism, not only in European, but Asiatic Turkey. Almost all the didascaloi, or school-masters, and the higher orders of their clergy, are selected from this place. If it sometimes hides a culprit from public justice, yet that criminal, most probably, reforms his life in a residence so well calculated to bring his mind to reflection. The oath of a person who becomes a caloyer on Mount Athos is very solemn and simple : it implies absolute renunciation of the world, enjoining the person who makes it to consider himself as quite dead to its concerns. Some are so conscientiously observant of this vow, that they never afterwards use their family name, never correspond with any of their relatives or former friends, and decline informing strangers from what country or situation of life they have retired.”*

These remarks of Dr. Hunt are in complete harmony with the views of Mr. Waddington, who earnestly deprecates, for the monastic establishments, the “ fell swoop” of a general abolition, though he is anxious for certain beneficial modifications. Speaking of those departments of the Church which appear to admit of immediate reformation, he says—

“ The monastic system is among the first of these ; and it rests at this moment on such feeble foundations, that its entire subversion would, in my opinion, be no difficult measure. The general principles of

* Walpole, 221, 222.

Christianity would, perhaps, lead us to wish for the absolute extirpation of one of its worst abuses. But when I reflect on the unsettled condition of the country, and the dangers connected with any violent change in its religious establishment, I confess that a reorganization of the system in question seems to me far more desirable than its entire destruction. For, whether we consider the poverty of the government, or the ignorance and demoralization of many of the leading men, or the example of France, which the Greeks are on all occasions too ready to imitate, there is great reason to apprehend that the abolition of the monasteries would be attended by the confiscation of their revenues. Now we need not dwell on the injustice and illegality of this measure, for such considerations might not deeply influence those to whom they would be directed; but we may employ a few words on its obvious impolicy. The monastic revenues, while they constitute by far the greater part of the whole church property, bear but a trifling proportion to the national capital; so that the effect of their confiscation would be to entail a perpetual tax on the nation for the payment of a number of stipendiary clergy, without relieving even the momentary exigencies of the government: or, even supposing them sufficient for this purpose (as they certainly are not), supposing that they would be honestly expended, rather for the welfare of the state than for the profit of individuals (as they probably would not be)—the measure which should plunder one portion of the community for the benefit of the rest, must ever be accounted among those feeble acts of temporary expediency, which bring with them lasting burdens as well as endless ignominy, and which most surely mark the weakness, as well as the wickedness, of the government which commits them.

“On the other hand, it would not be difficult to introduce such changes into the system as would make it permanently useful to the state. The monasteries might be converted partly into places of education, partly into poorhouses or hospitals; and the admission and discipline of the monks subjected to regulations similar to those imposed by Peter on the convents of Russia; and, perhaps, a portion of the revenues might be justly (and if justly, wisely) apportioned to the more decent maintenance of the secular clergy, many of whom are at present little removed from absolute penury. Such appear to be the principles on which a reformation might be so conducted, as to confer lasting advantage on the nation, without throwing any blemish on the honour of the government.”—p. 129—131.

Every friend of Greece, every friend of religion, every friend of mankind, must profoundly sympathise with the wisdom and humanity of these sentiments. And it is impossible to remember, without an aching heart, that the same wisdom did not preside over the secular councils which conducted the reformation of our own Church. It is positively afflicting to think of the resources which were then wasted, and defiled, and desecrated, by the rapaciousness of a detestable rapacity. To this hour the cause of Christianity among us is bleeding from the laceration and havoc which

the obscene birds of prey were then permitted to inflict. Ages may pass away before we recover from the effects of that ruinous and ghastly mutilation; and before the Almighty shall cease to manifest his displeasure against the wanton selfishness which trifled with such magnificent opportunities of promoting his glory.

There is nothing, we should imagine, more fitted to dash all our hopes of a restoration of the Eastern Church to primitive purity and health, than a view of that hideous combination of audacious impiety, and wild fanaticism, and stupid credulity, so frequently exhibited in the East, and more particularly in those very regions which have been consecrated by the presence and ministry of the Saviour. Mr. Waddington has wandered over those scenes with that dejection, and bitterness of heart, with which they must always be contemplated by enlightened and Christian men. Perhaps the grossest imposture at this moment practised by the impudence of any priesthood on the credulity of any people, "is the annual miracle of the holy fire, performed every Easter, in commemoration of the fire which descended from heaven at the prayer of Elijah." Of this prodigy of superstition Mr. Waddington was himself a witness; and he has given from his own journal, a full and mournfully instructive account of the exhibition, which we could not omit to insert without absolutely defrauding our readers. The scene of this ceremony, it must be remembered, is the Holy Sepulchre, and the little chapel annexed to it, which stands, a separate building, within the Church of Mount Calvary. The 'Turks allow the performance of the miracle because it "secures them the double satisfaction of extorting the money and insulting the religion of the Christians."

"Jerusalem, April 21, 1821.

"This is called the Day of Charity; the doors are open both day and night, and free and gratuitous ingress is allowed to all; so that by ten o'clock A.M. an immense crowd was collected in the church and round the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre. In this strange assemblage we recognized the complexion and costume of every description of Christian: English, French, Lutherans, Italians, Greeks and Russians, Georgians, Circassians, Tartars, Armenians, Copts, Maronites, Druses, and the various tribes of Syrian Arabs, rushed together into one mass; and to complete the universal society, we were increased by the presence of an American and an Abyssinian.

"For what purpose was it that every Christian name was here collected round the Sepulchre of Christ? How were these pious pilgrims occupied at that time and on this spot? They were collected for the purpose of witnessing either a miracle or the mockery of a miracle; either a violation of the laws of nature by God, or the greatest insult which can be offered to God by man; either a fire lighted by the immediate act of Heaven, or an act which seemed to call down fire from Heaven, to

destroy the scene of such monstrous impiety. They were occupied during the awful interval, not in prayer or in any serious meditation, not even in crossing, or prostration, or any vain ceremony of worship. So far were they removed from any such feeling, that they selected that particular moment for indulgence in buffooneries and indecencies far surpassing the extravagance of any Italian carnival. They ran and dragged each other round the Sepulchre; they mounted on each other's shoulders; they built themselves up into pyramids; they hung by their heels naked or half naked; they performed the circuit of the holy chapel, tumbling like mountebanks. The shouts and the shrieks from so many voices in so many languages, sharpened with oriental shrillness, surpassed any idea that can be formed by the languid imaginations of the west. And the spectacle was rendered still more various and the uproar more discordant by the violent proceedings of the Turkish and Albanian soldiers, in their vain attempt to tranquillize fanaticism by blows.

"Presently we observed two priests, a Greek and an Armenian, enter the chapel of the Sepulchre; the door was carefully closed after them, and strictly guarded by a strong body of Turks. At this sight the impatience of the mob rather increased, and they rushed with more earnestness towards the walls of the chapel, every one with new torches or tapers in his hand, trimmed to receive the expected fire. There were two or three small orifices or windows in the walls, to which every eye was eagerly directed. But their suspense was still somewhat protracted; for the Turkish governor, who takes especial delight in the miracle, and always superintends its execution, was not yet arrived.

"The body of the church is overlooked by a gallery, which was occupied by Turks of distinction, by English and other travellers, by some Roman Catholics, and several women, chiefly Armenians. These spectators contemplated the scene beneath them with great difference of feeling. The Turks merely laughed with undisguised and unmitigated contempt: a Protestant might smile or sigh, as ridicule or pity predominated; but the memory of what he beheld could furnish matter for none but melancholy reflection. The Latins were sincerely indignant against the performance of a profitable imposture in which themselves had no share, and would willingly have counterfeited contempt, if they could have forgotten the blood of St. Januarius, and similar impieties of their own church. The Armenian women sat expecting a real miracle, in unlimited and unhesitating faith and confidence.

"After the dispatch of more important business, the governor at length arrived and took his seat: every light had long ago been extinguished in every part of the church, and the storm beneath had been visited only by such glimpses of daylight as descended upon it, chiefly through the cupola, from a sky of the clearest blue and most heavenly tranquillity. Very soon afterwards we observed a glimmering through the orifices in the holy chapel; it increased to a flame and instantly became perceptible to the crowd. The shout which announced this event, the completion of the miracle, was the prelude to an exhibition of madness surpassing all that had preceded. The more zealous, or more vigorous, fanatics pressed towards the chapel, that they might obtain a

more genuine light by the immediate application of their tapers to the divine fountain; and the eagerness of those behind to participate, though less perfectly, in the blessing, brought on a struggle with those who were nearer the sanctuary, and who were anxious to carry away their own light uncontaminated; but in this they seldom succeeded; and thus the fire was communicated with extreme rapidity, and in less than five minutes the whole church presented an uninterrupted blaze of several thousand tapers and torches. In the mean time the two priests, whose entrance has been mentioned, were carried out of the chapel on the shoulders of some favoured devotees, either of them waving a celestial torch of the purest flame, which not one among the fanatic crowd either believed or suspected to be the creation of their own impious hands.

"This fact is made credible by the general history of superstition; that which I am about to mention is even more extravagant but not less true. An opinion is universally prevalent that the holy fire has no power to burn or injure; and experiments of this quality are every year made by almost every pilgrim on his own person; all, of course, are singed, and burnt, and scarred; and yet, whether it be that the energy of their enthusiasm repels or deadens the sense of pain, or that each man believes his own suffering to be an exception, in visitation perhaps of some secret and unconfessed sin, all persist in their original belief, and continue to proclaim with one voice, in defiance of truth and sense itself, the innocence of the holy flame.

"As soon as they were wearied by these excesses they gradually retired and dispersed, in order to preserve the remains of their tapers by melting them on fragments of linen which they destined to be portions of their winding-sheet, and a passport to a better state of existence. The Turkish governor and the other spectators departed also; and if the scene which we had witnessed were not such as to make Christianity respectable to the mind of a Mahometan, it was such, at least, as might teach a lasting lesson of moderation to a Protestant; it might teach him to compassionate the fanaticism from which he is so far removed; and, by presenting to his actual observation the wildest imaginable enormities practised in the name of Christ, it might teach him to overlook the narrow limits and scarcely perceptible shades which may happen to divide him from his neighbour; it might teach him the exercise of charity towards trifling errors and partial deviations, by showing him how boundless is the field of superstition, and how frightful are the paths which perplex it."—p. 73—78.

We most earnestly solicit the attention of our readers to this description. It is in every point of view deeply and dreadfully interesting. A multitude of people are collected, all (with the exception of the contemptuous Moslem) apparently under the full impression that they are about to witness a real and astonishing display of supernatural power; and yet their demeanour, while they are in expectation of it, is precisely that of a crowd of coarse and ignorant ragamuffins at Bartholomew fair, waiting for

the appearance of the bottle-conjuror! We really are unable to imagine a more confounding and humiliating view of human nature. One would suppose that an impending manifestation of the Divine majesty would at least inspire decorous and reverent demeanour. On the contrary—we here see it converted into an occasion of license, uproar, and turbulent buffoonery. Now does not this one fact speak volumes to us, on the Divine wisdom which has always administered miraculous agency with a frugal hand? Does it not show us that signs and wonders are apt to be regarded by ignorant and semibarbarous people much in the same light as the performances of legerdemain or witchcraft? and that a frequent manifestation even of Divine power would at last very probably give to the human instrument, an estimation similar to that in which a magician or a cunning man is usually held by the vulgar? that it might secure to him the abject terror, and the gaping wonderment of the multitude, without obtaining for him one particle of the veneration due to a chosen minister of God? The very day after the earth had swallowed up Corah and his company, the congregation murmured against Moses and against Aaron, saying, *Ye have killed the people of the Lord!* We have here a most striking exhibition of the possible effect of miraculous events on uncivilized and uncultivated minds. The mere mortal agent alone is remembered, and the Lord of all power and might is forgotten! And we can, without much difficulty, conceive that the same people who were moved to anger and rebellion by a miracle of vengeance, might, like the fanatic and brutish crowds round the Holy Sepulchre, have been moved only to riot and disorder by a miracle of mere display.

Another ridiculous imposture is mentioned by Mr. Waddington, though not actually witnessed by him. It is the custom at the obscure village of Boschivi, not far from Magnesia, for the Greeks to carry in procession a picture of St. George on the 23d of April, being the day dedicated to that saint and martyr. This picture is marvellously endowed with the stoutness and zeal of the champion it represents; for no sooner is it deposited on the shoulders of a sinner, than it instantly commences the work of castigation with an energy that would do honour to the martyr himself. It begins to show signs of impatience, by wriggling and twisting about. At last its indignation becomes ungovernable, and vents itself in hearty bangs upon the back and shoulders of the transgressor, till he is at last felled to the earth under the weight of the saint's displeasure! This contemptible trick was seen by Ricaut and is described by him; and we should certainly recommend it to the ingenious contrivers of the next new panto-

mime. In the hands of a Grimaldi it would be quite admirable. But the melancholy part of the story is, that when any effort is made to remonstrate with the priests upon so scandalous a degradation of our common Christianity, they hardly pretend to dissemble their consciousness of imposture; but they reply—that this custom has prevailed immemorially; that it is deeply rooted in the minds of the ignorant; and that any attempt to undeceive them would not only dishonour the saint, but endanger the whole fabric of Christianity. If the image of St. George were once to give over belabouring the wicked on the 23d of April, from that moment the credit of saints, martyrs, and even apostles, would be in imminent jeopardy, and the whole Gospel might, in the end, be rejected, together with the story of him of Cappadocia, as nothing better than a cunningly devised fable.

All this, it must be confessed, is very deplorable and discouraging. Neither is the prospect much brightened if we turn from these wretched vanities towards the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, and contemplate the present abject condition of the spiritual head of the Eastern Church. It has been observed by Mr. Waddington, that

“ if we refer to the History of that Church from the days of Constantine to those of Palæologus, we shall not find that it was at any period animated by that deliberate spirit of domination, which has marked the progress, and still marks the decay of Rome; that the patriarch of the East has at no time affected temporal sovereignty, nor claimed any authority over princes; and as he has not arrogated the lofty character of the Roman, he has not been compelled to establish any system, or commit any crimes to preserve it.”

The truth, as Mr. Waddington very well knows, is simply this—not that the patriarchs of Constantinople have escaped all visitation from the dæmons of avarice, or arrogance, or ambition, but that projects for the establishment of secular dominion never could grow up at the metropolis of the empire. The palace of the patriarch was confronted and overshadowed by that of the Constantines. The result was, that the Eastern pontiff was often little more than the slave and the instrument of the monarch; and the ruler of the Church was frequently compelled to learn that the step from the monastery to the throne, was not more sudden than the descent from the throne to exile and seclusion. If Rome had continued the seat of empire the consequences would probably have been similar. The papal power never could have spread into its gigantic dimensions in the immediate vicinity of the secular potentate. It was the secure distance of the ancient capital from the actual seat of government which left its spiritual autocrat gradually to absorb all influence and authority, whether ecclesias-

tical or civil: and hence the consequences, briefly and pointedly represented by Mr. Waddington, that

“divided by the narrow Adriatic, on the one side we see wealth, arrogance, and the assumption of temporal power; on the other, poverty, insecurity, and helpless dependence. We perceive too, with respect to the system of government on either case, that, as that of Rome is still distinguished by an active and patient discipline which studies to attach the ministers to each other and the people to the ministry, and which has been directed, zealously and sedulously, through above twelve centuries to that great object, so the other would deserve the contrary reproach of looseness, and incoherence, and insubordination.”

To this melancholy consummation the establishment of the Turks in Europe has, of course, potently contributed. The Commander of the Faithful succeeded to all the ecclesiastical prerogatives of the Porphyrogeniti; and, as might be expected, did not suffer them to languish in his hands for want of exercise. The sultan, it is true, concedes to the bishops the power of electing their patriarch, and of presenting him for institution; but for this favour he condescends to accept from the Nazarene dogs a humble gratuity of from 20,000 to 30,000 dollars; and so agreeable and consolatory does he find this part of the transaction, that it reconciles him to a frequent repetition of it, which his unlimited power of deposition, banishment, or execution, enables him to bring about at pleasure. No tenancy at will is, perhaps, more servile than that of the Greek patriarch. So rapid, at times, is the succession, that between the years 1620 and 1671, (a period of active intrigue and violent dissension,) we find the patriarchal throne vacant no less than nineteen times; to the great advantage of the imperial exchequer, and, no doubt, much to the refreshment of the bowels of the faithful, who must have been infinitely comforted and edified by this spectacle of discord among the unbelievers. From this state of things, however, one melancholy consolation, it seems, may still be derived. It is mentioned by Ricaut, that, in the opinion of some,

“this change of patriarchs is so necessary for the maintenance of their metropolitans or bishops, that without it they might starve; unless they had this pretence for frequent taxes. For, levying money, in this manner on the people, *some of it sticks to their fingers*, providing not only sufficient to pay the proportion expected from their respective dioceses, but also for their own support.”

Is it possible to imagine a Christian Church in a condition of much deeper oppression and degradation than is implied in this one statement?

There is another singularly agreeable and encouraging peculiarity in the present position of the Greek Church; it is the

favourite instrument employed by the sublime sultan for the oppression of his Christian subjects! Mr. Waddington has expressed some doubts as to the motives which have prompted this ingenious policy—whether it was

“a wanton wish to insult the religion by the same act by which he trampled on those who professed it; or a desire to identify the Church with the Government in tyranny and in hatred; or to make the hierarchy in some measure responsible for the conduct of the people, and to hold them as a kind of hostage at his court.”

There can be little doubt, that all these considerations combined, prevail on the Mussulman to endure a community which refused obedience to his prophet: for when were barbarians deficient in subtilty and cunning? If, however, it was his object by making them the ministers of despotism, to render the hierarchy odious to the people, and thus to undermine the Christian Church, it is most certain that he has not succeeded. The allegiance and devotion of the people to their priesthood has, most assuredly, not been destroyed or considerably impaired by this insidious principle of government. Mr. Waddington even goes further than this—he conceives that this policy of the Turk has signally defeated itself; that it was

“this very circumstance which, under the guidance of Providence, has mainly preserved the nation from apostacy; and that the chain, which was intended to bind both Church and people in one fold, to the throne of the oppressor, has been converted into a bond of religious union, which the pressure of external calamity has rather contributed to tighten.”

We must confess, that we are not quite able to understand this. It is easy to imagine that a community of suffering may bind the sufferers in closer attachment to each other. But we cannot very distinctly comprehend how the employment of one portion of a society to harass and to plunder the other can have any natural tendency to unite the whole in a more indissoluble tie. If therefore the views of Mr. Waddington, on this part of the subject, are just, we can only say that they require a somewhat more ample development than he has here thought it necessary to give them.

It is contended, however, by Mr. Waddington, that the influence of the priesthood, although it may have been sufficient to preserve the people faithful to their religion, is by no means so unlimited as many have imagined. He conceives the power of the Greek clergy to be decidedly inferior to that of the Romish priesthood in Spain and Italy, and even in Ireland. In this estimate he is probably correct. But however that may be, it must be allowed that the influence of the sacred orders is quite prodigious, when considered with reference to the abject condition of the individuals

by whom it is exercised. Such is their poverty, that, in the field they are often the fellow labourers with the peasants; and, at the altar, they bargain clamorously for the price of the occasional services of Religion. Such is their ignorance, that (as Mr. Waddington expresses it,) it leaves them nearly where their poverty has placed them. Such is their apparent want of devotion, and even of decent gravity, in the performance even of the most solemn offices, that "the wafer, which is received with the most profound piety, is sometimes administered with the smile;" a circumstance which naturally recalls to our recollection the saying of (we believe) Vincentius Lirinensis—that, frequently, *sanctiores sunt aures plebis quam corda sacerdotum!* One would suppose that no habitual feelings of veneration, or even of common respect, could long remain proof against such adverse appearances. It is, nevertheless, a fact that the people have a strong affection for their clergy. They fly to their arbitration in all their disputes, rather than defile and degrade themselves by-demanding justice at the hand of their infidel oppressors. They are always prepared furiously to resent an insult offered to the humblest minister of their religion. Mr. Jowett mentions, that once a Jew, having struck a priest, was instantly put to death! One cause, perhaps, of the mysterious reverence attached to the person of a priest, is the imposing costume of the sacerdotal order. The ample robe, and the flowing beard, are fitted to make the beholder imagine that he has before him the successors of the Apostles and Evangelists; and, besides, they operate as a hindrance to that indiscriminate mixture in society, which might produce a partial desecration of their character, especially when their personal superiority above the people is so very doubtful. But the grand secret is the power of the keys. "It is this," said a Greek priest, quoting John, xx. 23, to Mr. Jowett, "it is this which should raise the minds of the clergy to a proper sense of their dignity." And it is this, too, together with the prodigal exercise of the censure of excommunication, which keeps the minds of the laity in a state of superstitious subjection. The extreme poverty of the Church tempts her ministers to an unsparing application of these instruments to the consciences and the purses of the people: and yet it is most remarkable that the frequent repetition of the thunder does not seem in the slightest degree to disarm it of its terrors.

There is yet another subject of most distressing contemplation in the miserable and mercenary spirit of division which is constantly dissipating what little strength remains to the sacred cause, among the Oriental Christians. The evils of this unhallowed party-spirit are found to exist in their most restless malignity

precisely in those regions whose very echoes, one might imagine, would say, *peace, be still*, to all contentious feelings.

"The Christians," says the same writer to whom we have so often referred, "instead of being in any sense united, seem to watch for one another's halting; and the centre round which their petty politics revolve is the possession of some Holy Place. Under colour of reverence for the great mysteries of Redemption, they have here (at Jerusalem) established a metropolis as it were of lucrative will-worship, and of most plausible tyranny over the minds of devotees."*

Again, in speaking of the feuds and schisms of the various Christian sects, he observes—

"Even the Missionaries of the Romish Church—Dominican, Franciscan, Jesuit—merit no praise of unity. But the violence and iniquity of the contending communions, Latin, *Greek*, Armenian, Nestorian, Coptic, and others, rise beyond all conception, when a title of precedence, or some litigated right, or the exclusive possession of some sacred spot is in question. The conflicts of the Christian pilgrims at Jerusalem for the possession of the Holy Sepulchre, exhibit to this day a scene sufficient of itself to rivet the infidelity of the commanding Turk."†

What can produce a more dreary desolation of heart than to see the emissaries of one grand division of the Christian world joining in this vile scramble for the emoluments of superstition and imposture?

And now comes the great and interesting question which has doubtless furnished the chief motive for the composition of the present work—what are the hopes of a reformation in the *Church of Greece*? We say the *Church of Greece*, because we are unable to discern the slightest chance of such a reformation as shall at once embrace all the Oriental communities which are comprehended within the pale of what is called the *Greek Church*. What, then, are the prospects of Christian society in the new Hellenic monarchy which is on the point of being erected, and whose rising destinies, it seems, are to be entrusted to a prince so nearly connected by marriage with the British throne? The question is full of fearful interest. If suspended animation is to be restored, it must be by a very skilful and judicious process. One principle of the new constitution is a full and free toleration of all religious persuasions. Under Providence, it must mainly depend upon the government whether this shall be the proclamation of intellectual and moral freedom to the Greeks, or whether it is to be the signal for the "mopping and mowing" imps of a capricious liberalism to rush in, and to deface the land with their mischievous and destructive gambols.

* Jowett's *Chr. Rev. in Syria*, p. 243.

† *Chr. Res. in the Mediterranean*, p. 262.

"Greece," says Mr. Waddington very truly, "stands on the very shores of infidelity. The tumult of revolution—the influx of licentious opinions, vaguely delivered and imperfectly understood—the growing connection with the French—the lively genius and restless impatience of the people—the low intellectual condition of a great proportion of the clergy—form a combination of dangerous circumstances, which cannot otherwise be resisted than by the infusion of new energy into the system of the Church."

How, then, is this renovation to be attempted? Most unquestionably, as Mr. Waddington observes, by the careful education of the ministers of religion. If the nation is to be preserved from infidelity, their instruction must be committed to the clergy; but then it is absolutely indispensable that the clergy themselves be made worthy of so precious a charge. "The intellectual advancement of that body *must* precede any general attempt to enlighten the mass of the people." It is thus only that the progress of reformation can be safe. If the people should outrun their priesthood in the career of intelligence, the consequences seem inevitable. They will have before them a religious system grossly corrupt and superstitious, and an ecclesiastical body which, in their estimation, must be altogether despicable; and thus both the altar and its ministers will be in imminent peril of scornful abandonment. If, on the other hand, the clergy are enabled to lead the way to moral and intellectual improvement, their influence may be sufficient to reconcile the people to a gradual and cautious abolition of abuses, without exposing the whole system of the national religion to contempt, and consequently to ruin. It was thus that the Church of England was enabled to reform herself. The iron hand of secular power dashed from her lips the cup of enchantment, with which she had, for ages, been stupefied, and her ministers were happily qualified to prepare for her the salutary and invigorating regimen, which now is *health to her navel and marrow to her bones*. And thus it must, surely, be in Greece, if she is to pass successfully and gloriously through the crisis of her regeneration. And here let us, once more, express a hope that her civil rulers will avoid the error which so grievously mutilated and starved the cause of the Reformation in this country, namely, a wanton confiscation of the resources of the monastic system. Under a wise government those resources may be converted into a sacred treasury for the purposes of virtue, religion and intelligence. In aid of the exigencies of the state, they would be utterly insignificant. Applied to their proper objects, they may become, beyond all calculation, instrumental to the national morality and happiness.

There is one formidable obstruction to the accomplishment of

this great work, which presents itself at the very outset, and which, of course, has not escaped the observation of Mr. Waddington. The spiritual ruler of the Greek Church resides at Constantinople, often the mere creature of intrigue and faction, always at the mercy of her oppressor, and liable at any time to be converted into an instrument of her degradation. By what adjustment, then, is this difficulty to be disposed of? It is hardly to be imagined that the Turk will easily abdicate his position, as supreme head of the ecclesiastical polity of the infidels. Neither is it to be supposed that he will view with much complacency any proceedings which may tend to their advancement in respectability and intelligence. And, if so, he may still be in a condition to arrest, or, at least, grievously to embarrass, the march of the reformation; and all this, by the agency of some worldly and servile priest. The first precedent which offers itself to our attention, in considering this difficulty, is that of the Russian Church, whose reformation commenced with the abolition of the Patriarchate, and with the substitution of a permanent Synod, under the guidance of the emperor, for the decision of all ecclesiastical affairs. But then, it will be remembered, first, that the Czar was, peradventure fortunately for his barbarians, an irresistible despot; and, secondly, that Russia had an independent patriarch of her own, whose office, on its termination, did not revert to the throne of Constantinople. Greece is, at present, in no such condition of ecclesiastical independence; and so long as the seat of her spiritual head is at the capital of Mahometanism, one hardly sees how any salutary changes can proceed, without constant danger of fatal disturbance and molestation.

Under these ominous circumstances, there appear only two courses open. The one is to disclaim the authority of the patriarch altogether—a measure which probably would offer much too great and sudden a violence to the immemorial prejudices of the Greek people; or, on the other hand, as Mr. Waddington suggests, still to acknowledge him as the supreme spiritual ruler of the Church, to limit his interference to matters *strictly* ecclesiastical, and to secure the appointment of a resident primate from among their own bishops, by whom the details of their Church affairs may be regulated, without the necessity of perpetual reference to Constantinople. That this would be the most prudent course, in the present state of things, it is scarcely possible to doubt; though, if the sultan should be obstinate, there may be considerable impediments in the way of its adoption. If, however, the monarchy of Greece should be established with an imposing appearance of solidity and strength, these impediments, it may be hoped, will not be insuperable; and then, in process of

time, the country may be enabled to throw off entirely all embarrassing dependence on the ancient head of the Church, even though he should be allowed permanently to retain his nominal supremacy. It is ardently to be desired that these vital and urgent matters may speedily occupy the thoughts and labours of the illustrious person who has been called to the head of the government of Greece. He has been long enough connected with this country to estimate the blessings of an enlightened and independent Church intimately united with the frame of the constitution, and his new country will have reason to bless the hour of his adoption, if he shall pour out among her people the precious fruits of his observation and experience. He may then hope to be numbered among the founders of mighty dynasties and flourishing empires, and to take his rank among the most distinguished benefactors of the human race.*

Mr. Waddington has closed his little volume with several very interesting and agreeable letters from the Strophades, where he found, instead of obscene and voracious birds, a community of kind, simple-hearted, and hospitable monks. We close our notice of his work with the following extracts from their letters.

"The convent is situated on the north side of the larger island, and I think on the highest spot in it; my cell is extremely neat and clean, and, for a monastery, spacious, the window looks to the north-west, the direction in which I always look with most pleasure; thus, too, it admits the cool Maestrale, which at this season, usually rises at about eleven every morning, and continues to refresh the East until evening. Zante and the north-west coast of the Morea are before my eyes, and I do begin at last to feel myself *in Greece*. At Corcyra, Levcadia, Ithaca, Zacynthos, the beating of drums and the flashing of bayonets, under a cloudless sky, and among Oriental scenery and costumes, confuses our associations and feelings; and in the doubt whether most to love what Greece was or what England is, patriotism will sometimes triumph over memory and imagination; but here have I full liberty to sigh over the languid features of mortality, undisturbed by any living spectacle of wealth and power. The Strophades are, indeed, also under English protection; but there is no garrison here, and, what is more singular, no Englishman has hitherto ever set foot on the islands. Most of the land belongs to a nobleman of Zante, by whom it is let to the monks, who are forty in number, and the *only* inhabitants.

"Of these two islands, the smaller is a mere rock, remarkable only for the vast masses of stones which the storms have rolled upon it, and the quantity of very white salt, filling the basins or chasms thus formed. It lies to the northward, and by thus presenting its hoary front to the tempests, it seems to secure the peace and fertility of its happier neighbour. This last is about six miles in circumference, covered in almost every part with luxuriant verdure. A certain space in the centre is cul-

* This was written before it was known that Prince Leopold had declined the sovereignty.

tivated with corn, and produces sufficient to satisfy the wants of its cultivators. I observe some small vineyards; sheep and goats are in abundance, and the '*læta boum passim campis armenta*' still continue to tempt the voracity of strangers, and to justify the description of Æneas. But one point there is, affecting the topographical fidelity either of the son of Anchises, or of his accomplished poet, which I may not pass over unnoticed. His description leads us to expect high and mountainous land, '*aperire procul montes—de montibus adsunt Harpyiæ.*' Alas the low rock on which the convent stands, and which, at ten or twelve miles distance, is scarcely visible at sea, ill deserves the dignified appellation; and the island descends from the north almost to the level of the sea on the south, so much so, that to ships approaching at night, or in mist, from that quarter, there is no small danger of being stranded. I believe, indeed, that the Strophades are the lowest islands of Greece, whether in the Ionian or the Ægean Sea."—pp. 184—186.

"The convent is well built and in good repair, and the interior is remarkably clean, so as to be free from the various annoyances usual in oriental habitations; and the monks present, both in appearance and manner, a singular contrast to the inmates of the wealthier monasteries of the South of Italy and Sicily. I am inclined to think that the difference is not merely external; and with little general faith in monastic excellence, I feel strongly persuaded that the holy persons here surrounding me are not only free from the ordinary vices of humanity, but also that they live in the possession of many good principles, and in the exercise of many feelings not common to the mass of their countrymen."

"The office of Papa, or Hegoumenos, which lasts two years, is now held by a most venerable old monk, whose long white beard flows amply over his purple vest. Even a more striking object, both in figure and character, is a Father more than ninety years of age, who retains all the fire and curiosity of youth, and displays it in the most particular inquiries respecting my travels, my pursuits, my studies, my habits, and those of my country. The most enlightened among my venerable friends is a native of the Morea, who several years ago presented his fortune (about two thousand dollars) to the convent, and came to spend the rest of his life within its walls. These men are Greeks and monks; but if there be any faith in the expression of voice or countenance—if simplicity of manner be any promise of purity of mind—if ignorance of the business and pleasures of the world give any security against the contamination of its vices—they possess a piety, benevolence and sinless disposition to virtue, which would not disgrace a purer form of Christianity. I believe the same to be true of many others of the community, but on these three I have had the best means of observing."—pp. 189. 192, 193.

Having mentioned that while he was wandering in their neighbourhood, these worthy men had, in full ecclesiastical costume, been singing a solemn litany for his health and success,—and having enumerated various spots of eminent sanctity in the island, he adds,

"Thus you see, among the sacred things of this untravelled spot,

how large a proportion still are *caves* and *fountains*. You see how little the spirit of its sanctity has been affected by the change of its religion—how little it ceased to be Grecian, when it became Christian. These people seem as if they could not live except in the actual presence of immortals; they are not satisfied by their distant protection—they will have them down on earth to dwell with them. And so it has happened that the same fire and restlessness of imagination, which lent beauty and variety to paganism, which created, indeed its very substance and essence, has turned itself to the false adornment of Christianity, suspending its fantastic decorations over the altar of God, and spoiling the simplicity of true religion by its vain and incongruous devices.

“I recollect that these meditations were interrupted by the voice of my pilot, urgently pressing my immediate embarkation. I followed most reluctantly, for I was leaving for ever a place which had not yet lost its charms on me. And having engraven on the walls of my cell a sincere testimonial of gratitude to my hospitable friends, I was attended by them in long procession down to the beach, where I received their parting salutations, and entered my little skiff, under a salute from their whole battery. But not thus was I allowed to depart, nor were my Grecian hosts on this occasion unmindful of their own honour, or the manners of their forefathers. A young kid, perfectly white, without spot or blemish, was the *ξείριον* which I found waiting for me on board, and which I turned loose the following morning upon the Zantiote hills.”—pp. 201, 292.

ART. IV.—*Sermons Preached at the Temple Church.* By the Rev. Andrew Irvine, B.D.

THE volume now before us is made up of sermons delivered by Mr. Irvine in his character of Assistant Preacher at the Temple Church. The discourses published are only fifteen in number, but they embrace several of the highest and most momentous topics in Christian theology.

The first sermon in the present collection embraces two vast and all-important topics: the one, a general inquiry into the nature of Christian mysteries, the other, a more particular application of the argument to the doctrine of the Trinity. Mr. Irvine, after a short introduction, in which he reprobates the “fatal impatience” of those persons, who, like our first parents, “have transgressed the legitimate bounds of human knowledge, and spurning the blessings of the Gospel because incompetent to understand its mysterious doctrines, have gone headlong to destruction, and made shipwreck of their immortal happiness,” proceeds in the following emphatic language.

“It shall therefore be my endeavour, before stating the Scripture-doctrine of the Trinity and enforcing its obligation upon our belief, to prove, that the *inexplicable mysteries* of Christianity form no valid objection against

its truth, and to show, by a selection of particular instances, that the plan of the Deity is consistent throughout; since the same *partial mystery*, and *partial revelation*, the same intimate union of light and darkness, pervade the *whole* of the mighty scheme of Creation, Providence and Redemption.

“That there must have existed some Great First Cause is a truth that admits not a shadow of a doubt. But of the *mode* of its existence we absolutely know nothing. In the very first idea connected with it—the idea of eternity—our thoughts are swallowed up and lost. We perceive at once that the throne of the Eternal is encircled with clouds and with thick darkness. Till the Ancient of Days came forth, arrayed with wisdom and with power to create the heavens and the earth, we know nothing of his operations, nor of the numberless worlds that he scattered through boundless space, nor of those high beings who then beheld the wonders of his power. ‘Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth? Declare, if thou hast understanding. Who hath laid the measures thereof, if thou knowest? or who hath stretched out the line upon it? Whereupon are the foundations thereof fastened? or who hath laid the corner-stone thereof; when the morning-stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy?’* ”

“Of the various beings called into existence, at the time when God created the heavens and the earth and all the host of them, how many have escaped observation for almost six thousand years? Of those more immediately within our reach, how many are there of which we understand neither the properties, nor the use, nor the end! Yet the more accurate our research and the more extensive our investigation, the more powerful and convincing are the proofs that we discover, of the goodness, the greatness, the infinite wisdom of the Almighty Creator; but *He* remains invisible, and veils himself from our view, amid the varied magnificence that his creation displays.

“Nor less in the works of Providence than of creation is this principle of the Divine economy to be discerned. For if we look abroad upon the *natural world*, we behold it full of energy, and irresistibly proclaiming the inward workings of a supreme directing Power. As far as we can penetrate the regions of space, these proofs of the divine Omnipresence extend. But though we can calculate with precision the laws that many of the celestial orbs obey in their courses, and the periods of their respective revolutions, we can neither ascertain what they are in themselves, nor what sentient or rational beings they contain. If we survey the surface of that earth which we ourselves inhabit, we find endless indications of disturbance and of change. But the means for producing these effects are buried in darkness; and though reason and conjecture may extend for a little the circle of our vision, they give us only a more impressive conception of the immense region of obscurity that stretches beyond. The causes by which such mighty effects are produced, and the suspension of those effects, are equally unknown. ‘Upon the high mountains and on the everlasting hills’ is it legibly written, that the Flood hath gone over the earth; but *how* it either burst its barriers or again subsided

* Job, xxxviii. 7.

within them, we know not, and can only point unto *Him*, 'who hath divided a water-course for the overflowings of the water, and a way for the lightning of thunder: who saith to the Deep, Be dry; and to the Sea, Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.'

"If we look, still further, to the Divine economy in the *moral world*, we shall derive, from the earliest to the latest history of our race, confirmation of the same great truth. That the Governor of the world is infinite in goodness and in power, we, who behold the earth full of the riches of His bounty, gratefully confess. At the same time we cannot but perceive, much misery prevail, that, as we think, might have been easily prevented; much suffering endured, that might easily be remedied; much happiness lost, that might easily have been enjoyed; much interesting knowledge denied, that might easily have been granted to the industrious investigation of man. That the human mind, so capable of high virtues and noble efforts,—its chief happiness consisting in a conformity to the divine nature,—should have become so utterly enslaved to sin, is a fact which we are unable to account for, but is at the same time incontestably true. That the human race should have been *permitted* to sink into such enormity of evil, that it was judged necessary by heaven to sweep them all, save one single family, from the face of the earth, is a truth equally certain, however awful and unavailing the dispensation may appear to have been. That the knowledge of the true God should have been again permitted to be so nearly extinguished, as to be preserved only within the narrow bounds of Judæa, while all the rest of the world lay buried in the darkness of ignorance and guilt, is a subject also that demands our most serious reflection. That a Saviour hath come to dispel the gloom and to cheer us with the light of heavenly grace, we thankfully acknowledge as an undoubted truth, and hail it as tidings of great joy. But, that he should *not* have descended to the earth till four thousand years after its creation;—that the Fathers of mankind, the wisest and the best, even the Father of the faithful himself, should only have been allowed to see his day afar off: that the doctrine of Immortality should have been at so late a period and to so limited an extent, imparted to 'those who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death'—that all these things should be undeniable, and surpass the utmost efforts of our reason satisfactorily to explain, *may* be mortifying to human pride, but they nevertheless form *consistent* and *harmonious* parts of the divine administration.

"Since then it appears beyond a doubt to be the plan of the Deity, that partial mystery and partial revelation should pervade the whole of his works, both of creation and providence, is it not naturally to be expected, that they will equally prevail in the *remainder* of that system—in the *completion* of that mighty scheme—in the work of *man's redemption*? Such is unquestionably the fact. The Scriptures of truth, in which that plan of mercy is revealed, do indeed contain many and unfathomable mysteries—mysteries, into which even the angels are desirous to look, and which to the eye of man are dark and inscrutable. And what is the natural, the necessary inference, but this,—that they proceed from the same great source, and that the *mystical* characters, impressed upon the

sacred volume, are the very *stamp* of its *divinity*? Had the case been otherwise—had everything therein contained been clear, and simple, and perspicuous, we should then indeed have had strong reason to doubt; being no longer able to recognize the traces of Him, whose plan of operations is one and unchangeable; who ‘is wonderful in counsel and excellent in working;’ whose ‘ways are not as our ways, nor his thoughts as our thoughts;’ who is ‘verily a God that *hideth* himself,’ and ‘whose throne is encompassed with clouds and thick darkness.’”

These are striking observations; and so far as he has gone, Mr. Irvine could hardly have done better. But we cannot help wishing, that he had divided the sermon into two; and allotted a whole discourse to a fuller development and demonstration of the great truth, that the existence of mysteries can never be used as a legitimate argument against the authenticity of the Revelation which contains them;—but that on the contrary, if any Revelation should pretend to be from God, and yet to be without mysteries, the very pretence would be of itself sufficient to convince any discriminating inquirer that it was a forgery and an imposture.

Among the signs of the times, we may discern a strong tendency to reject as false whatever is inexplicable; and even to take a stand upon the broad ground, that Faith can never advance beyond comprehension; or in other words, that it is impossible to believe in matters which we cannot understand. This is one among those propositions of the present day, which, while they carry with them a specious appearance of reason and liberality, are in reality not merely shallow and superficial, but steeped in the deepest dye of prejudice and dogmatism. The origin of all such opinions is intellectual pride; and their effect, where they produce any effect, must be utter infidelity, and by infidelity we do not simply mean to express Deism, or Atheism, or any rejection of revealed religion, however decided and contemptuous; but that dark and shoreless sea of scepticism, on which the intellect must be tossed for ever, and find no haven of rest. For the man, who begins with contracting his belief within the bounds of his comprehension, must end with believing *nothing*. He can never explain the nature of his personal identity;—no, not even by the aid of Locke, or Butler, or all the metaphysicians of all nations; and he ought therefore on his own principles almost to assert, that himself is not himself, or that at any rate he is not the same person to-day, which he was yesterday. He can have no clear notion of the power by which he moves his finger; and ought therefore to doubt whether his finger be indeed moved. In a word, he might as well argue that there is no world beyond the horizon of his vision, as that there are no certain truths, and no real existences beyond the limits of his understanding.

Yet to this absurd conclusion may that man fairly be pushed, who refuses his assent to Christianity, because without controversy great is the mystery of Godliness. In every thing there are mysteries, which utterly baffle our faculties, and mock our penetration. In every element—in every combination of the elements—in every particle of creation above, around, beneath us—in every object, which presents itself to our senses—in every thought which suggests itself to our minds, there is a darkness, which we cannot dispel, there is a veil which we cannot pierce. In every science—pure as well as mixed—mathematical and mechanical as well as metaphysical and moral, there is a point, beyond which we can never go without losing ourselves in an inextricable maze; there are questions, which if pursued to their ultimate extent, necessarily involve us in anomaly and contradiction. But if mysteries are every where—in every thing whatsoever, either without us or within us; these mysteries uniformly become more frequent and more impenetrable in proportion as we ascend into the higher departments of philosophical speculation, or the vast region of moral and metaphysical and spiritual subjects. Farther, of all moral and spiritual subjects, religion is beyond question or comparison the highest and most complicated; and therefore most of all ought mysteries to meet us in religion. Nor can we escape a single difficulty, by altering and debasing our belief. The mysteries of Deism are at least as great as the mysteries of Christianity; and the mysteries of Atheism are infinitely greater and more unintelligible than either. If for instance, a Christian should unhappily for himself, be shaken from his faith in revelation by his inability to comprehend thoroughly and explain satisfactorily the sublime mysteries of the Trinity, the Incarnation, or the Atonement; he must soon be driven out of Theism by his incapacity to grapple with the origin of evil, and to reconcile the moral responsibility of man with the omnipotence of God, and the universal agency of a supreme first cause. And if he then takes refuge in saying with the fool “there is no God,” and instead of going to his parish Church on the Sunday morning, attends the lectures of Mr. Owen at the Mechanics’ Institution, and learns with that well-meaning madman to treat the doctrine of human responsibility as an invention and a dream, and deny the possibility of being good or bad, virtuous or criminal, in the common acceptation of the words, we are perfectly convinced, that he will have to listen to theories immeasurably more mysterious, as well as more mischievous, than were ever propounded from any pulpit in the kingdom.

We have no space to pursue this topic, or plunge into the multitude of illustrations which crowd upon us; but it seems to us so

extremely important in the present temper of the national mind, that we cannot but repeat our wish that Mr. Irvine had treated the point with something more of elaborate discussion, and scourged with the full force of which he is master—the flimsy sophistry, that, as rational beings, we cannot believe what we cannot comprehend. In all practical affairs we must believe, and must act upon belief, although our notions are most imperfect; or we should never perform the most common functions either corporeal or mental. And it is hardly too much to require, that we should do in religion what we must do every moment of our lives in the ordinary business of the world. Still, surrounded as we are by mysteries—baffled as we are by the universe and by the atom, by the vastness of some objects and the minuteness of others—the proximity of some objects and the remoteness of others—the mysteries are not so much in the things themselves as in the nature of the recipient, in the narrowness of our conceptions, and the weakness of our understandings. The child cannot fathom a thousand secrets, which are no longer mysteries to the matured powers of the man; and in the same way, it may be at once our prerogative and our happiness in a better and more glorified state of being, to unroll by degrees a portion of the clouds, which now spread out their dark immensity before us; although some mysteries must remain through all eternity, because men must always be infinitely removed from God; and the mind of the finite creature can never enlarge itself to a full and adequate comprehension of the infinite Creator.

Having said so much upon the first sermon, we can afford but a cursory glance at the remainder of the publication; and some of the discourses we shall be obliged altogether to omit. The second sermon contains a very striking picture of the Rise and Growth of Christianity, written for the most part, we should say, in a more glowing and animated style than any other part of the volume. The following extracts are a fair sample of the whole.

“ At that eventful period a general expectation prevailed among mankind that some great and godlike personage would appear upon earth, ‘ The desire of all nations ’ was ardently looked for. But who, save the Jews themselves, would have expected him from Judæa? As was said of Nazareth, so might it be said of that obscure and enslaved country which gave birth to the Messiah, ‘ Can any *good* thing come out of Jewry? ’ Yet thence, most assuredly, in every circumstance according with the predictions of ancient prophets, Messiah came. But in what form did he then appear? Was he arrayed in the terrors of Divinity? Did he even assume the state and authority of an earthly prince? Was there any, even the *very smallest*, shew of external pomp to attract the gaze or admiration of mankind? Did that ‘ Tree, whose leaves were for the healing of the nations,’ tower at once in majestic grandeur above all

that surrounded it, and thus invite the inhabitants of earth to flock for shelter and refreshment to its shade? Far from it. The prediction of the Prophet was verified to the very letter. A tender plant, a defenceless flower in a desolate field, was the true image of the Saviour of Men, amid the ruins of his guilty country. Against that tender plant almost before it had risen into view on the poor and barren soil that produced it,—even at its very root, was the weapon of destruction levelled by the hand of power; but a higher power protected it from the threatened blow. Nor could the desolating blast which assailed its maturer growth utterly destroy it. There was in it indeed ‘neither form nor comeliness;’ but there was a living principle that could not perish,—a healing virtue never to be extinguished. Though ‘the visage of him who trod the wine-press alone was more marred than that of any man, and his form more than the sons of men;’ yet he still ‘travelled in the greatness of his strength,’ and proved himself omnipotent to save.

“For a short season, indeed, the powers of darkness seemed to have prevailed. Messiah was ‘cut off by cruel hands; was crucified, and slain.’ Yet, even when stricken to death and laid in the tomb, when the expectations of his followers and the redemption of mankind seemed buried with him in one common grave, even then did hope arise from the dust; the root budded from that dry ground,—it rose in majesty to the heavens,—filled the earth with its healing influence,—and brought forth the blessed fruits of pardon to the guilty, of consolation to the mourner, of salvation to the helpless and undone. Even from the darkness of that grave burst forth the light of immortality, to dispel the gloom that brooded over ‘the valley of the shadow of death.’ Then were the gates of heaven not only displayed to our view, but we were invited, encouraged, and strengthened to follow thitherward the footsteps of Him, who, having triumphed over death and the grave, ‘ascended up on high, and led captivity captive.’”—pp. 25—27.

Again.

“From the foregoing observations it seems to follow as a natural consequence, that we ought, by the habitual contemplation of all that our Saviour did, taught and suffered for our sake, to excite and cherish in our hearts a grateful sense of his infinite goodness. Did the Son of God from the ages of eternity offer himself as our ransom, was he ‘the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world,’ did he, in the fulness of the time, descend into this abode of guilt and suffering, to take our nature upon him, to be persecuted by human malignity throughout the whole of his life upon earth, and to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption? Was this plan, which he pursued from eternity, not more remarkable for its magnitude than its mercy, not merely rescuing us from eternal misery, but exalting us to immortal happiness? At the contemplation of such *infinite* love, shall we not be ready to exclaim, in the language of the Psalmist, ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name!’ With what gratitude and adoration should we meditate upon this wondrous scheme, from the period of its first revelation to that of its final accomplishment? With what in-

tensity of interest should we naturally peruse those records in which the mystery of our Redemption is unfolded ! Those records are the charter of our salvation, the Scriptures of truth. Let me ask you then, whether they form the subject of your serious and *habitual* meditation ? Or whether it is possible for you to remain indifferent to the *only* thing, in fact, which gives life its true interest ?

“ Is there any individual now among us, whose conscience at this moment accuses him of living in ignorance or neglect of these important matters ? With regard to him, who *unnecessarily* allows one single day to pass without reading or meditating upon some part of the word of God, I fear there is but too much reason to adopt the language of the Apostle—‘ that man’s religion is vain.’ For he takes not the means appointed by heaven for adding fervour to his piety or purity to his life and practice. In his Christian course he is not merely at a stand—he is positively going backward. Day after day he will become more and more careless : gradually, though imperceptibly, will he lose all relish for spiritual things ; until their absence shall not only cease to give pain, but their presence shall grow burdensome to his carnal mind, and he become a heathen in reality, though a Christian in name.

“ Let me entreat you, my brethren, as you value your souls’ health, to avoid this fatal error. Cherish a warm recollection of your Redeemer’s goodness by a frequent study of the Sacred Volume. Treasure up in your memories and in your hearts the precepts and promises of his Gospel ; dwell upon the history of that life which exhibited a love stronger than death ; and that you may be enabled to form your own upon the model there displayed for your imitation, draw near, this day,* to his sacred altar ; come to it *habitually* for the remainder of your lives ; and there devote yourselves, soul and body, to his service for ever. Come, that you may confirm the strength of your faith, that you may increase the sincerity of your repentance, that you may inflame the ardour of your love and gratitude. And though your goodness be now but ‘ as a tender plant or as a root budding from a dry ground,’ it will flourish under the influence of heavenly grace, ‘ As a tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth its fruit in due season.’ ”—pp. 32—34.

The third sermon, which from its connection with the conclusion of the first, ought perhaps to have been put second, respects the Divinity of Christ, as proved from Scripture, and from the writings of the Antenicene Fathers. Instead of giving extracts, we will rather refer our readers to the whole discourse as being a masterly condensation of an argument, which utterly demolishes the foolish objection of the Unitarians, that the doctrines of the Divinity of Christ, and the Trinity of the Godhead, were introduced in times later than the Apostles, and first Fathers of the Church. Mr. Irvine has brought to bear upon his subject much profound research, and much valuable learning. We do not mean that the matter is absolutely new,—for Mr. Irvine most

* Christmas Day.

candidly owns his obligation to the excellent work of Dr. Burton, but it is new to compress and arrange it in a single sermon, and assuredly it is much to reduce into a short compass, and popular form, the sterling and momentous points, of which few among his audience might have found time to make themselves masters by searching into more bulky and elaborate productions.

The fifth sermon in this collection is upon the subject of the Millennium; and there is no part of the volume more sensible or more useful. How wild and varied have been the theories built up upon that prophecy in the twentieth chapter of the Revelation of St. John, in which he asserts that he saw the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus, and for the word of God, and that they lived and reigned with Christ a thousand years, and that this was the *first* resurrection! Mr. Irvine's object is mainly to shew that this passage is to be interpreted purely in a figurative and spiritual sense, and to point out both the error of a literal explanation, and the dangerous consequences to which it leads. He has made out his point in a manner worthy of its importance. He shows the mode in which the prophecy was originally perverted, and proceeds:—

“Such was the perversion of prophecy by the Jews of old, and such it continues among their descendants to the present hour. Upon that subject, however, we will not at present dwell, but merely notice the very remarkable fact, that many of the errors with regard to prophecy, which prevailed among the *Primitive Christians*, and still continue to prevail, were derived from the Jews themselves. My object in adverting to their error at all, is to shew the *danger* of certain Christian imitators of that Jewish example, in their interpretation of the prophecies which relate to the second coming of our Lord, and to the future state of the Christian Church, which is his spiritual kingdom. For they have specified, with greater hardihood than even the Jews themselves, the times, and the seasons, and the manner of his coming, and the nature of his reign. Although the ancient believers in the Millennium as well as many at a more recent period, having indiscreetly fixed the date of its commencement within their own time, had seen their interpretations falsified by the event, their successors, notwithstanding, have woven again the same flimsy texture of interpretation, forming theories the most chimerical; expatiating in the wide field of conjecture, and sometimes even laying such daring and presumptuous claim to inspiration itself, as might almost seem to imply a judgment upon them from Him ‘who maketh diviners mad.’ Were this error confined only to a *few*, it were best perhaps to pass by it unregarded. But when it is in various forms disseminated by them through all classes of society, with a zeal and industry daily increasing, it becomes us to ‘inquire and search diligently,’ whether there be in Scripture any sufficient warrant for their doctrines.”

—pp. 82, 83.

We must forbear from farther quotations, for if we extracted

all which we could wish to extract, we should transfer the whole sermon to our review.

For ourselves, we are free to confess, that the probable existence of a better and happier state of things hereafter upon earth, under the pure and universal influence of the Gospel, is a hope which we "would not willingly let die," and sure we are, that if ever such a state of things *shall* exist, it will and can only result from the warm sincerity of Christian faith producing the ripe fruits of Christian practices, not from any shallow and visionary schemes of remodelling the constitution of society, and even of attempting to change the very nature of man; not from any absurd and impious projects, in which it is a leading principle to throw all religion aside as an exploded error, or at best, as worn-out machinery which has already done its part, and is henceforth to be laid up amidst the forgotten lumber of notions. We do trust in some Millenium, when the condition of the present world will be ameliorated, when the hallowed spirit of Christianity shall pervade the globe, and lead with it general improvement and virtue, and peace: but where is the person of sound mind, who does not perceive the folly and the mischief of indulging or instilling delusive expectations, that Christ will appear in person, and establish his kingdom upon earth? Is not the experience of every individual sufficient to convince him, that the best feelings, and highest aspirations of an exalted faith may be on the very brink of a mad and perilous enthusiasm; and are we not informed by the history of states, that the headlong fervour of religious excitement is ever prone to introduce the worst kinds of *civil* insubordination and disorder, and open the door for every fantastic heresy in doctrine, and every pitiable extravagance in conduct.

In the ninth sermon the reader will find a very ingenious parallel between Elijah and John the Baptist, and in the tenth, the ministry of John the Baptist is contrasted with that of the Apostles. Whether in drawing these comparisons, Mr. Irvine has been led by the nature of his subject into one or two conjectural and fanciful points of agreement and difference, there will perhaps be some variety of opinion, but there can be no dispute about the justice and beauty of the following passages.

"Other instances, were it necessary, might be easily adduced; one, in particular, is of so extraordinary a nature that it ought not to be omitted. On Mount Horeb, Elijah stood in the immediate presence of his Maker, while the mountains were rent by a mighty wind, and the rocks were broken in pieces before the Lord, and the quaking earth burst forth in flame! and he wrapt his face in his mantle, and stood at the entering in of the cave, and behold there came a voice! and that voice was the voice of God!

"To the Baptist, too, was the Divine glory displayed in a manner equally sublime, but better corresponding with the pure and peaceful nature of that dispensation, whose commencement he came to announce to the world. 'And Jesus when he was baptized went up straightway out of the water, and lo, the heavens were opened unto him: and John saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and lighting upon him, and lo, a voice from heaven saying, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.'—pp. 165, 166.

"3. The last instance that we shall now cite, in which the apostles were manifestly superior to the Baptist, is the peculiar nature of their doctrine. That which John more particularly inculcated was Repentance. His endeavour was to recall the Jews to that state of moral discipline which would have prevailed had the Mosaic Law been faithfully obeyed. But that dispensation itself, even in its most perfect state, was only the shadow of good things to come and destined soon to pass away: the light of its glory to fade at the near approach of the Sun of righteousness, and the Baptist himself, the last and greatest of its ministers, to share in the general fate. Abraham had rejoiced to see Christ's day afar off, and he saw it and was glad; kings and prophets had desired to see it, but were not able. But the highly-favoured Baptist, emphatically styled the Prophet of the Highest, *did* see it, and did glory in announcing it to the world. But still, exclusive of that testimony which he had to bear to the true light, his task was merely the correction of ancient abuses, the repression of growing evils, the purification of that inveterate pollution which, like a leprosy, had infected the whole body of the state. He stood, as it were, at the outer court of the Temple of the New Jerusalem, sprinkling with water those who were desirous to worship with the congregation of the Lord; but, even thus purified, they were still counted unworthy to enter into the immediate presence of their God in his holy place."—pp. 183, 184.

In his sermon upon the Atonement, there is one essential point, in which Mr. Irvine differs from Mr. Benson, as well as from Mr. Davison and other distinguished writers. They have supposed that the idea of animal sacrifice originated with the mind of man. Mr. Irvine says on the contrary, (p. 200) it seems highly probable, though it is not absolutely so stated, that in order to prefigure the sufferings of the Saviour, the Almighty accompanied the Revelation of his will to our first parents with an injunction that living victims, without blemish and without spot, should be offered to him in sacrifice. "Such a method of expiating sin," he farther observes, "must evidently have proceeded from a source higher than human reason, which could never, even in its profoundest deductions establish any necessary connexion between human crime and animal sacrifice, or rather perhaps, it ought to be between animal sacrifice and satisfaction for human crime." Now in these remarks, we quite agree with Mr. Irvine. As a type of the Atonement, we see at once the reason and the occasion for the

shedding of blood upon the altar, and the death of victims innocent and unblemished ; but if we could divest our thoughts for a moment of the one infinite oblation, we should find it impossible to conceive in what way, and on what grounds, the slaughter of one species of beings could be regarded as an expiation for the sins of another, and considering the matter merely in itself, we might be more disposed to think, that to deprive any of his creatures of life without necessity, would be rather an offence, than an act of piety in the eyes of the universal Creator. It appears therefore, exceedingly improbable that the institution of animal sacrifices should have suggested itself to the human mind as a fit method of appeasing the wrath, or conciliating the favour of the Supreme Being, in the earliest ages of the world.

In after-times, indeed, it may be less difficult to discover various motives which might have operated towards such an institution ; as, for instance, the motive of fear and superstition in a people, who looked upon their deity as terrible at best, if not malignant ; or the motive of interest on the part of priests, who might have found their account in obtaining the victims which were sacrificed ; or generally, the motive of devotional virtue in offering to God some animal that was valuable to mankind as a species of property. But we find that the custom of sacrificing animals was familiar to Abel, and, if to Abel, of course to Adam himself ; yet by which of the motives just enumerated, could either Adam, or Abel have been influenced ? In that abundant morning of earth, no animal could have been valuable as property, and in fact the very notion of property could hardly have existed ; yet to imagine that the motive either of superstition or interest could have found any place in their hearts, were to form a supposition evidently extravagant and preposterous in the extreme. When therefore, we recollect, that the question is not, whether in later ages any one person among millions could have struck out the idea of animal sacrifices ; or whether the religious feelings of mankind were likely or not to preserve, extend, and perpetuate, such an institution if once established, but whether it was from the suggestion of their own hearts that Adam probably and certainly Abel, the virtuous and favoured brother, shed the blood of animals, while the more guilty Cain offered only the fruits of the earth : when too we know from the infallible authority of the inspired volume, that the communication between God and our first parents was both immediate and frequent, and may also discern from reason the necessity of such communication, it is scarcely possible not to conclude, that the Deity himself demanded the sacrifice of animals from our first parents, as we are assured that he afterwards demanded from

Abraham the sacrifice of his son Isaac; and also of the ram which was substituted in his place.

We may here mention a point of less moment in another sermon, upon which Mr. Irvine and Mr. Benson slightly disagree. When John, in prison at the time, sent his disciples to enquire of Jesus, "Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?" the former supposes that the inquiry was made solely for the satisfaction of the disciples; the latter, that it was made also with a view to clear up some doubts in the mind of John himself. Mr. Irvine, we think, adduces very sufficient reasons in support of his view of the case; but we must content ourselves with referring our readers to his argument, instead of offering any comments of our own upon the subject.

But of the whole collection we think that, perhaps, the most valuable, with reference to the opinions of certain theologians of the present day, are the two sermons upon the Sabbath,—the one upon its nature and its institution, the other upon its obligations and duties. The following extracts will speak for themselves.

"But in whatever manner it was observed in the patriarchal ages, the regular celebration of it had probably been interrupted in Egypt, or placed under some severe restraint in that land of intolerable bondage; so that liberty was demanded from Pharaoh, by the authority of heaven, to worship the God of Israel in the wilderness. But that the sabbath was then unknown to the Israelites is evidently not the fact. For, in the Sixteenth Chapter of Exodus, we find Moses referring to the sabbath as to an institution with which they were familiarly acquainted, when he directed them to collect a double portion of manna on the sixth day, that by resting on the seventh, they might refrain from the violation of the sabbath. As this memorable circumstance occurred *prior* to the delivery of the law at Mount Sinai, it distinctly proves, that the promulgation of the fourth commandment in the presence of assembled Israel, was in fact, a solemn recognition of an institution already existing. Even the commandment itself may be fairly adduced as confirming the same inference. For it does not enjoin the Israelites to set apart a particular day as sabbath, but to 'remember the sabbath day, to keep it holy,'—which very terms imply a previous acquaintance with it. It is further evident, that the reason assigned for such observance has a direct reference to the work of creation: and the commandment clearly refers the divine sanctification of the day to the period of the creation, not to that of the delivery of the law; for it does not state that God, now for the first time blesses and hallows the seventh day, but specifies a former period when he 'blessed and hallowed it, because he had rested on it from all his works.'—p. 232, 233.

"The nature of these solemn duties seems sufficiently to indicate the manner in which we ought to spend the large portion of that day which cannot be devoted, or at least which never is devoted, to the *public* service of the sanctuary. How utterly shocked should we have been by the

inconsistent conduct of our Lord's disciples, had we found them rushing forth from their retirement, from that spot hallowed by their Saviour's presence, to mingle in the round of wordly business, or in scenes of amusement and frivolity, or in the haunts of unhallowed and guilty pleasure? Should we not have felt, that it was pouring contempt upon that sacred day on which their crucified Lord had triumphed over death and the grave? And can we then ever forget that to *us* that day is equally sacred? That it is the pledge and seal of our final deliverance from death and hell? It is the solemn covenant, which the Lord of Hosts, our Redeemer, hath established between Him and us for ever, to be observed 'as a memorial to the Lord throughout all generations.'

"Are there then any among us who, after performing the public services of the day, think themselves entitled to spend the remainder of it entirely in such a manner as may best suit their interest, their convenience, their pleasure, and never feel that they are thus flagrantly transgressing the solemn command of Him who hath sanctified it wholly to himself? I fear there are but too many, who though they would unwillingly forego the name of Christians and the high privileges which they justly attach to that name,—yet devote a large portion of the day to secular occupation—to correct the errors, to supply the deficiencies of their worldly transactions in the week that is past, and to anticipate the labours of that which is commencing. If they have any extraordinary object to be accomplished, any distant journey to be undertaken, do they not studiously select the sabbath for that additional toil, and desecrate it by that profane pursuit? How little do they heed either the command or the example of Him who rested from all his works, and hallowed the sabbath to himself! Amid the calm repose of the Christian world, that salutary cessation from bodily toil—so refreshing to the spirit, so soothing to the heart, they are for ever labouring in the service of Mammon, for ever seeking the meat that perisheth, but are regardless of that which endureth unto everlasting life. They are 'like the troubled sea when it cannot rest: whose waters cast up mire and dirt.'

"But it is not business alone that interferes with the observance of the Lord's day. Pleasure, too, has its calls, and those of a power seldom to be resisted. Look around you, and see how the votaries of pleasure, both among the rich and the poor, of every age, sex, and condition, in this great city, are fluttering in the deceitful glare of sinful enjoyment, and perishing without hope, because without adequate preparation for the world to come. Strangers they are, and must thus ever continue to be, to that enjoyment of God which the prophet Isaiah describes as the reward of those who duly observe this sacred day. 'If thou turn away thy foot from the sabbath, from doing thy pleasure on my holy day, and call the sabbath a delight, the holy of the Lord, honourable; and shalt honour him, not doing thine own ways, nor finding thine own pleasures, nor speaking thine own words, then shalt thou delight thyself in the Lord.'

"But how, it is often said, how is the whole length of the day to be consumed in religious exercises? Is it to be spent in the abstraction from all enjoyment—from all recreation—from all pleasurable amuse-

ment? This question is generally put by those who feel the sabbath to be an intolerable burden, who know nothing of religion but its empty forms, who give nothing of religious service to God but what they dare not withhold: who frequent the house of prayer either from a mere compliance with the custom of their country, or from a wish to stifle the admonitions of conscience; but who enter there with thoughts wandering upon the vanities of the world, with cold affections and languid desires; present in body but absent in spirit, drawing near to God with their lips and honouring him with their mouths, while their hearts are far from him. Can it then be expected of such formal worshippers, that having thus reluctantly discharged a debt which they felt themselves constrained to pay, they will devote any remaining portion of the day as a free-will offering of gratitude to the Father of mercies? Will they not more eagerly seek to indulge their natural desires, and to indemnify themselves by such indulgence for the irksome privations which they have been previously enduring. However unwise or unworthy of a professed worshipper before the heavenly throne, such, it must be confessed, is but too frequently the practice of many who, on the first day of the week, appear in that character in the congregation of the Lord."—pp. 253—257.

To inculcate the view here taken by Mr. Irvine would be useful at all times; but a peculiar service is thus rendered to the Church at a period, like the present, when men of distinguished talents and high reputation, who profess to hold orthodox opinions, can yet publish sermons and pamphlets, of which, if the object be not to desecrate the Sabbath, the effect at least must be to render it less hallowed and respected. Surely it must be mischievous at best to promulgate a doctrine which, while it unsettles the opinions of the people, must alter their practice for the worse: surely all real reverence for the Christian Sabbath must be destroyed, when it is regarded no longer as a divine ordinance, but a civil regulation; and its observance is enjoined no longer on the high ground of moral and religious obligation, but simply as a matter of expediency political or social.

To the same parties who have indulged in this heresy with respect to the institution of the Sabbath, as well as to others who erect their own peculiar standard of doctrine, and expect all Christians to flock around it, we would earnestly recommend Mr. Irvine's last sermon, on "the necessity of a strict adherence to Scripture." For it is the besetting sin of persons, who give "laws to the little senate" of a small society either at the universities or elsewhere, not only to imbibe an undue notion of their own importance, but to dwell too much upon their own virtues and their own philosophy. Mr. Irvine's observations are in every way excellent.

"At times not very remote, such infidel doctrines prevailed widely

over Europe, and were but too ardently embraced and propagated by men in our own country, who enjoyed the reputation both of learning and ability. At the present day, I believe, it may be stated with confidence, that not a single philosopher of distinction in the isle of Britain deems such opinions worthy of his regard. They have descended to men of an inferior order,—to daring disputants, but empty sciolists,—with vast pretensions but contracted powers,—with great ignorance but still greater presumption,—boldly deciding before they have examined, or examining only to give plausibility to their errors : exalting themselves in word against all that is called God, while in works they deny him ; their life and doctrine corresponding so entirely to each other, that God is not in all their ways, nor the fear of Him before their eyes ; but they obstinately deny the existence of Him, who will at length appear as the judge and avenger of their ungodly deeds. The God who sitteth enthroned in the circle of the heavens is to them undiscernible. They see him not ‘through the thick cloud’ with which they are encompassed ; they walk, as if hood-winked, in the midst of the light of revelation, ‘groping in noonday as in the night,’ and like birds of night watching in darkness for their prey. Upon the young and the unwary they too often exert a fatal influence. By the wiles of sophistry they inveigle or pervert them, at least distracting their minds with impious doubts, if not involving them in confirmed infidelity. To such persons the caution of the Apostle is no less needful than salutary, to beware lest they be spoiled, or led a prey (as the word *συλαγωγῶν* in the original literally imports), through philosophy or vain deceit ; for if they walk in the steps of such men as deny both the Father and the Son, it is an utter impossibility that they should follow ‘after Christ.’”—pp. 265, 266.

“That Jewish example was afterwards fatally followed by the Christian Church. The pure doctrines of the Gospel were corrupted by ‘the tradition of men :’ the Word of God was by Papal authority completely superseded or perverted. Though given by God as a light to the world, it was thus, as it were, ‘placed under a bushel ;’ its pure rays were withdrawn from the eyes of the perishing multitude, that the gloom of ignorance, superstition, and fanaticism might prevail in its stead. It was not till the period of the Reformation that this spiritual eclipse passed away, and that the benighted nations rejoiced to behold the Sun of righteousness, in the firmament of revelation, again ‘shining in his strength.’

“But though this was the blissful condition to which we were then restored, yet the spirit of error has, since those days, in one shape or another, been continually striving to pervert the truth ‘as it is in Jesus ;’ and its baneful influence is easily discernible at the present day throughout a large portion of what may be termed the religious community of England. It is a fact not to be denied, that there are many assuming to themselves high authority as expounders of Scripture, who, from their dogmatical but conflicting interpretations, would almost lead us to suppose, that two different revelations had been made to man by the Spirit of God, directly the reverse of each other.

“For one class of interpreters perceives in them only the plain doc-

trines of morality, though admitting that they are inculcated in a purer and more influential form than they had ever before been by the wisest of heathen philosophers. The corruption of human nature by the fall of our first parents,—our restoration by the death of Christ to a state of salvation,—the indispensable necessity of faith in Him, as Saviour of the world,—the internal influence of the Holy Spirit,—and all those purely scriptural doctrines peculiar to the Christian system, though not denied by these interpreters, are yet passed over by them in such a way as if they were unworthy of their serious consideration. The beauty of virtue, the deformity of vice, the advantage of a sober, circumspect manner of life; such points of morality, in short, as are essentially connected with our conduct rather than our belief—with our character in the eyes of the world rather than with our duty to God—are, in their opinion, the most essential parts of revelation; and they hesitate not to declare, that he who honestly endeavours to conform his life to such precepts has nothing to fear.

“Others, again, fly to the opposite extreme. They have formed to themselves a certain set of opinions, which they erect as the standard of sound doctrine, and reckon any deviation from it an unpardonable offence. The doctrine of justification through faith alone,—of the utter worthlessness of good works,—of the irresistible efficacy of grace communicated by the mysterious operations of the Holy Spirit,—upon such subjects as these they continually dwell, in a manner that savours more of the enthusiasm of the visionary, than of the sober and rational spirit of Christianity. Willingly overlooking the *practical* excellence of the Christian scheme, they see faith, and faith only, pervading the whole volume of inspiration. They reflect not how very large a portion both of the Old and the New Testament is devoted to the inculcation of our practical duties, by regulations descending even to minute particulars, while the performance of those duties is enforced by every motive that can most effectually influence the heart of man. Did such religious obedience flow *necessarily*, and without any effort of our own, from the principle of faith itself, whence this waste of moral instruction and of moral precept,—this enforcement of practical consequences? and whence that most earnest admonition of the Apostle, ‘to those *who have believed* in God, that they should be careful to maintain good works?’ Such erring teachers forget, that faith without works is dead; they repose in its all-powerful efficacy, and exult in the thought that they are full of grace and secure of glory.”—p. 270—274.

Our extracts will have enabled our readers to decide almost as well as ourselves upon the style and matter of this volume, and render it easy for them to verify or contradict, in their own minds, the few criticisms which we have room to subjoin. We think, then, that if these discourses are considered in themselves, they merit a very full measure of praise, both for the sentiments and the composition. The language of Mr. Irvine is always sensible and perspicuous, often extremely forcible, and sometimes really eloquent.

But while we think that Mr. Irvine has accommodated his style of preaching very skilfully to his situation, we are by no means sure that his situation has had an influence altogether favourable upon his style of preaching. There is little of emphatic exhortation, or solemn admonition, or uncompromising rebuke; neither is there any striking originality of views, or any strong light thrown upon those controverted matters by which the Church is unhappily divided. But the publication before us contains evidence in itself that these deficiencies are not so much attributable to a want of power in Mr. Irvine, as to the disadvantage under which he laboured of preaching as a substitute. The fact is, that a deputy can never take so high a tone as his principal. He cannot speak "as one having authority." It is not to him that the hearers look up as their spiritual guide. In him it may be allowed hardly becoming to lash the vices of a congregation which is not properly his own.

Moreover, we discern some traces, unless we are much mistaken, that the nature of his audience has had the effect, to a certain degree, of throwing a chill upon Mr. Irvine's mode of expression, and keeping his energies too much in check. If he did not absolutely stand in awe of his hearers, he seems at least to have had the fear of hypercriticism constantly before his eyes, and to have spoken as one conscious that he was speaking before men fastidious, hard to be pleased, and inclined to satire; and a part of whom, probably, had come not so much to profit by the doctrine as to dissect the composition. We are far from intending to assert, that the language is poor and jejune; but we think that in some places it has the appearance of being subdued and constrained, as if the writer were repressing and keeping under his own powers, and studiously endeavouring *not* to be florid and ornate. Thus, Mr. Irvine, we conceive, while he has avoided the *commission* of any sins against good taste, has *omitted* some beauties and embellishments, with which, if he had followed his natural impulse, he might have enriched the style without weakening the argument, and made the manner more attractive without making the matter less valuable.

We speak with the more earnestness upon this subject, from a belief, that the same cause which has lowered the tone of Mr. Irvine's discourses at the Temple, has operated more widely in injuring the character and weakening the effect of pulpit eloquence in modern times. The same cause,—namely, a too sensitive dread of criticism,—which partly prevents the reappearance of a Shakspeare, partly prevents also the reappearance of a Barrow or a Jeremy Taylor. We are no advocates for rant or bombast, theatrical language or theatrical delivery; but we are sure, that the noblest

graces of composition must be unattainable, and the power of exerting the best and strongest influence upon a congregation must be sacrificed, if a preacher pauses before he delivers his sentiments, from a fear of flippant animadversions, or in any way modifies his observations, from undue deference to the persons to whom they are addressed. It is one misfortune of a generally educated and highly polished state of society, that men of the brightest talents and most cultivated minds are often fettered by a delicate and timid sensitiveness, which renders them afraid of committing their reputation, or incurring the accusation of bad taste; and that in consequence they seldom venture beyond the verge of what is calm and equable, either in writing or in speaking. They write with too much caution to be able to write with fire, and in trying to be safe they fail to be impressive. And what is the consequence? Why, that those men dare most who are least capable of daring with judgment and success. That the style, which is not hazarded at the church, is torn into tatters at the conventicle; and that the magnificent imagery and strong language of our old divines are succeeded by lacrymose harangues at a fashionable chapel, or the rhapsodical flights of the great Caledonian apostle, who, for a season, drew ministers of state and leaders of *ton* from May Fair to Hatton Garden.

We are well aware that, among the main pillars and ornaments of the Church of England, there are some striking exceptions to the defect at which we have glanced; we only wish that the applause and honour which have attended their exertions, would stimulate others to follow in their path. These are times, when the ministers of the Gospel are especially called upon to preach and to act *boldly*; and, taking the matter merely in a critical point of view, we would broadly state, that if great effects are to be produced, the "*aude aliquid*" is at least as necessary in literature as in life.

ART. V.—*Is the "Doctrinal, Practical, Experimental" System of the Rev. Legh Richmond the "True, Scriptural, Evangelical Religion," as it professes to be, while all others are mere Imitations and Assumptions of that Title?* A Serious Inquiry addressed to William Wilberforce, Esq. London. Baldwin and Cradock. 1830. pp. 52. 2s. 6d.

THE name, character and history of Mr. Legh Richmond are perfectly well known. They have recently been placed before the public in the tolerably ample biography of him by Mr. Grimshaw, which, we believe, has had a very wide circulation.

From this we learn that Mr. Richmond was of Trinity College, Cambridge, that he was a man of irreproachable habits, of elegant taste, of no common capacity, and in his more youthful days passionately addicted to music. He entered the ministry with a most conscientious desire of doing good; but was not, it seems, awakened to a just sense of his high and sacred responsibility, till he had accidentally perused Mr. Wilberforce's *Treatise on Christianity*. From that moment old things appear to have passed away with him, and all things to have become new. His notions of evangelical truth were then purified and exalted, and the rest of his life was devoted to an exemplification of the heavenly wisdom which he had first learned to estimate from that celebrated performance.

It is impossible to contemplate the life and the labours of this amiable and useful man, without being deeply impressed with the power of godliness, when it has once taken possession of the human heart. And we desire, most earnestly, not to be misunderstood, when we advert to the slight blemishes which struck us in the perusal of his life. In our judgment, then, we will not disguise, that he appears to have been rather too much captivated by the enchantments which are almost sure to encircle popularity. He seems to have been gifted with unusual powers of extemporaneous delivery; and by this endowment he was tempted to a frequent indulgence in the delight of filling with astonishment great multitudes of people, who were brought together for the advancement of religious designs; and who, perhaps, were scarcely aware, any more than the accomplished speaker, of the extent to which the passion for excitement will mingle itself with our holiest purposes. He was, moreover, prodigally given to the practice of journalizing; and the result, as usual, has been a collection of small incidents, (recorded in religious and scriptural phraseology,) which, in our humble judgment, confer any thing but solemnity and dignity on matters of the most overwhelming importance. We are, however, fully persuaded that he was, himself, for the most part, unconscious of the unhappy tendency of these peculiarities, and that, throughout, his exertions were most sincerely and faithfully directed to the promotion of divine truth.

But there is a circumstance still more to be regretted, and which our cordial respect for this exemplary minister of the Gospel must not deter us from noticing, namely, that even if his views of revelation were not really erroneous, yet his mode of stating them was dangerous and even unscriptural; and that we most decidedly concur with the anonymous author of the pages, whose title is prefixed to this article, in thinking that it calls for

prompt correction. But before we say another syllable on the subject, we shall insert the opening paragraph of this little work, which must show that the writer is fully disposed to estimate duly the worth of Mr. Richmond, and that not the slightest element of bigoted or unkindly feeling has mixed itself with the motives which have prompted his inquiry.

“ The Memoirs of the Rev. Legh Richmond is a work edifying, interesting, affecting. Peculiarly suited to the religious taste of the day, it will probably find its way into almost every family circle of a serious turn ; and may produce no slight impression on the public mind. Who so likely to know the truth as so eminent a minister of the gospel, who gave up his whole time and talents,—talents, too, of a very superior order,—to the sublime work of an evangelist? Who more constant in spiritual communion with his Creator and his Saviour? Who more zealous in good works, more circumspect in conduct, more severe in the moral and intellectual discipline which he exercised over his faculties, his tastes, his pursuits, his accomplishments, his amusements? From such a person, whose life was a practical exhibition of the diffusive charity and beneficence of the faith which he adopted, with all his mind, and heart, and soul—from such a person with what authority must any doctrine come ; with what deference must it be received ! Connected, indeed, as the doctrine might be, with peculiar associations in his own mind, and acting upon his own virtuous and religious temperament, it might be different both as to its truth, and very different as to its effects, from what it would be when applied to and adopted by others. It would not, however, on this account be the less dangerous, nor would the necessity be the less that there should be a sober and respectful exposition of whatever is exaggerated in the statement of so distinguished a teacher of Christianity.”—pp. 5, 6.

We shall now proceed to state, in the words of Mr. Legh Richmond himself, what were his notions of “ doctrinal, practical and experimental” Christianity.

“ “ What must I do to be saved ?” cried the gaoler: “ Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ,” was Paul’s reply. Salvation is *wholly* of faith, from first to last. This is the grand discriminating principle between true scriptural, evangelical religion, and all mere imitations or assumptions of that title. Our paradox is, that “ weakness is strength.” The soul that *by* Faith, through Grace, is saved *without* works, obtains an inward principle of love, which *must* work, *cannot but* work, and *actually* does work. The order is thus: First, God loved us; secondly, thence we obtain faith to trust him; thirdly, we are *thus* saved; fourthly, we *therefore* love him who first loved us; fifthly, this love produces good thoughts, words, and works, as the *fruits*, not the *root*, of our salvation. Thus is He the author and finisher of our faith, and the author of salvation to all them that obey him. He has promised to all, as well as to David, to perfect the thing which concerneth his people: Whom he loveth, he loveth unto the end; trust him, therefore, evermore. *Such* is

the Christian's doctrinal, practical, and experimental creed." —(Memoirs of the Rev. Legh Richmond, pp. 429, 430.)

Now, in the first place, we cannot well understand the motive of Mr. Richmond for deviating from the usual and unquestionably true statement, that the soul is saved *by* grace and *through* faith; and for substituting, as a new version, that it is saved *by* Faith *through* Grace. We are 'indebted for our hopes and means of salvation solely to the Divine clemency; and faith is the channel *through* which the blessing is conveyed to our spirits. To assert, therefore, that faith is the efficacious cause of our salvation, is evidently to misrepresent the counsels of God in the redemption of the human race.

In the second place, every sound divine must perceive that there is a grievous perversion in Mr. Richmond's exhibition of what he calls *the order* in which the work of our salvation is carried on. The *order*, we conceive, is simply this: God first loved us. His love provided means by which the inhabitants of a lost world might be placed in a state of reconciliation with him. Those who embrace those means are thus brought into a condition in which salvation may be attained. Among the blessings incident to that condition, is the privilege of applying to the Throne of Grace for the gradual increase and the final establishment of our *faith*, (that is, of our devout reliance on the mercy and righteousness of God, as disclosed in the Gospel,) and for support and aid under the trials of a probationary state. The due and assiduous use of these privileges will produce good deeds, and good thoughts, without which our pretensions to faith and to an interest in the Divine promises, will be as the sounding brass or the tinkling cymbal. Lastly, after all has been done and believed by fallen beings like us, it is certain that the mercy of God must be our only resource in the hour of death and the day of judgment, and that the mediation of the Saviour is the only thing that can save us from despair, either in the conflicts of life, or in the agonies of dissolution.

Whether Mr. Legh Richmond would consider this as an unfaithful compromise of Divine truth, we cannot confidently undertake to pronounce. He would at all events, probably, condemn it as an inadequate statement; for, according to his views, a complete and consummate salvation must precede the production of good thoughts, words, and works. In other words, virtue and holiness are not the way in which we are to advance towards final salvation, but they are the way in which those, whose salvation is already sealed, are to advance towards the presence of God. It is obvious that this view rejects altogether the notion

that morality is a *condition*, in any sense of the word, in our attainment of eternal life, and that it adopts the principle that morality and sanctity are themselves neither more nor less than a *part* of salvation. On this strange and perilous perversion we have already expressed our thoughts in a former number of this Journal, in which we had to examine the mystical reveries of Mr. Erskine. We shall, therefore, only add that this perversion is distinctly rejected by all the greatest divines of our own Church, and by many of the first authorities in other Christian communities. We need only mention Mr. Robert Hall—a host in himself!

We cannot afford space for ample citation from the work before us. We can only recommend it earnestly to the perusal of our readers, assuring them that it is executed in the truest spirit of Christian liberality, and with a most respectful admiration of those real excellencies of Mr. Richmond, which the obliquities of his theological theory were not able to spoil. We must content ourselves with a single specimen. The following passage contains an ingenious and vivid illustration of the sense in which it may be said that a sinner is *assured* of his salvation.

“ It is from his life, not from his death, that we feel a sure and certain hope that on Legh Richmond now rests the spirit of glory and of God. In the faith and the hopes of a Christian we believe that Legh Richmond died; but let no one hereafter presume to expect in himself, or to make a necessary article in a religious creed, that ‘assurance of salvation,’ which this pious man, after all his labours of love, acknowledged that he did not himself feel, though in his doctrinal, practical, experimental system, this assurance is actually laid down as the essential discriminating principle, on which rest all the energies and all the efficacy of personal and social religion. But the difficulty would perhaps be done away with, and the doctrinal position of this eminent minister of the Gospel might be received, if the word *saved* was limited in its meaning to the being rescued from the destruction to which our sins, if persevered in, would inevitably bring us. A shipwrecked mariner, who is buffeting with the waves amidst the thunderings, and lightnings, and howling of the storm,—no inappropriate emblem of the more than elemental strife in an awakened sinner’s soul, and now just on the point of sinking for ever—may be said to be saved when he is caught hold of by some friendly hand, and drawn through the waters to a ridge of rock not yet covered with the waves: but if the waters were rising around him, and every moment increasing upon him, provided he make no effort of his own to climb up the precipitous pathway which was pointed out to him, and by which he might reach the land, though saved from destruction by the arm of another, he might be ultimately lost by himself from his own want of exertions. He is placed where he may be saved by proper efforts of his own, and, if he does not choose to make them, he is not, on that account, under the less obligation to the hand that rescued him from the over-

whelming gulph. Thus precisely it seems to be with the sinner; and in this limited sense of the word 'saved,' that is, put into a state of salvation, the doctrine may be received. To know and to feel assured that we have thus been saved, that is, rescued from destruction by the grace and love of God, must, no doubt, inspire a reciprocal love,—a love which nothing earthly can inspire, a love that passeth all the understanding of an awakened and unrepenting sinner, who never knew his danger, who never saw destruction opening wide her jaws to devour him. Under this limited sense of the word *saved*, you may tell, and truly tell, the drunkard, the cheat, the most profligate of sinners, that they may be saved through faith *without* works, by the free favour and grace of God, that is, may rescued from present and imminent destruction, plucked like a burning brand from the fire, extricated like a sinking mariner from the waves."—pp. 28—31.

ART. VI.—*Pastoralia. A Manual of Helps for the Parochial Clergy.* By Henry Thompson, M. A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, Curate of Wrington, Somerset, and formerly Assistant Minister of St. George's, Camberwell. London. Rivington. 1830. 9s. pp. 440.

THIS is a very unpretending and useful little book, calculated to supply a deficiency which, perhaps, there is no Clergyman who has not acutely felt, on his first entrance to the Ministerial Office; and moreover to give assistance even to many who are far from being novices in their profession. It is discreetly planned and ably executed. The writer shows himself to be deeply imbued with a spirit of well regulated piety, untinged by fanaticism, conversant with the original Scriptures and their best expositions, and keenly and seasonably alive to the excellence of the Church to which he belongs. Our task is little more than to give an outline of the contents of his Work, and very earnestly to recommend it as a companion to all our brethren who may be engaged in the arduous course of Parochial duties.

The volume consists of two Parts; the first of which is subdivided into three sections, containing, first, "A Scriptural view of the Clerical duties, briefly referring the chief qualities required of a faithful Minister to their foundation in the words of Holy Writ." Secondly, Prayers for the use of the Clergy, composed, as their author well and modestly expresses himself, in his General Introduction, "almost wholly in the language of Scripture and the Liturgy. They are not Bible-centos, but an attempt to convey Scriptural Ideas in Scriptural Language." The two following Prayers which we subjoin, strike us as eminently fulfilling Mr.

Thompsons's design. They are fervent, yet sober; pregnant with holy thoughts, and yet free from that vague mysticism which embarrasses most similar attempts. To compose a Prayer, in which he who offers it while breathing the full Poetry of Scripture, (let no one despise the term, there is none other so appropriate,) may still pray with the understanding, has fallen to the lot of few. Yet we are not reluctant, even after this remark, to produce the following specimens :

“ BEFORE COMPOSING A SERMON.

“ Though I preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of; for necessity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me if I preach not the Gospel! What a necessity! the alternative of heaven or hell! and what wo! the outer darkness which awaiteth the unprofitable servant, where shall be wailing and gnashing of teeth! Yea, if I through heedlessness build not upon Christ a work that will stand in his fearful day; though I myself be saved, it shall be so as by fire! Grant me thy grace, O Lord, that I may meditate upon these things, and give myself wholly to them, that my profiting may appear unto all! Let me keep back nothing that is profitable for thy people; let me not shun to declare thy whole counsel; let me preach righteousness in the great congregation; let me not hide thy righteousness with my heart; let me declare thy faithfulness and thy salvation; let me not conceal thy loving kindness and thy truth. By thy grace I will study to show myself approved unto thee, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth. Let me not preach myself, but Christ Jesus the Lord, whereunto I am ordained a preacher. I ask not enticing words of man's wisdom, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect: only let it please Thee, by the foolishness of my preaching, to save them that believe. Let not my exhortation be of deceit, nor of uncleanness, nor of guile; but as I am allowed to be put in trust with the Gospel, even so let me speak; not as pleasing men, but Thee, who searchest my heart. Enable me to reprove, to rebuke, to exhort, with all-long suffering and doctrine; and to take heed unto myself no less than unto the doctrine, that I may save myself, as well as them that hear me; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should be a castaway. These favours I humbly and fervently implore, through the merits and mediation of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.”—p. 34.

“ AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE SERVICE.

“ Again, O Lord, thou sendest me into the world; but grant that it may be to overcome the world, as Thou hast done. Let me remember that no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him that hath chosen him to be a soldier. Where my treasure is, there also let my heart be. I have declared thy ways and thou heardest me. Teach me thy statutes, that I may be able to teach others also. So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture will give Thee thanks for ever, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*”—p. 40, 41.

The third section presents a Scheme of Pastoral Visitation.

Here, in the outset, it is pointedly remarked, (and the limitation cannot be too carefully borne in mind,) that although the Church, with great wisdom, has not strictly confined her Ministers to the sole use of the Exhortation in her Order for Visiting the Sick; as well foreseeing that cases may occur in which deviation may be advisable; nevertheless, that she has enjoined them always to employ either it or "other like;" so that it is not the *matter*, but the *manner* in which deviation is permitted; and the Clergyman may exercise discretion as to this, and also as to the points which, in each particular case, require most pressing.

That portion of our Visitation Service, (on the whole, one of the most Scriptural, useful and beautiful Offices comprised in our Liturgy,) which has been chiefly exposed to malicious animadversion, is its Absolution; and we do not hesitate to admit, that although this Absolution may be defended on good grounds, nevertheless, that as it is very liable to be misunderstood, and requires nicer explanation than, for the most part, an unlettered, sick man is either willing or able to receive, we should gladly abandon its usage altogether. The Rubric has left much to the Minister's discretion. The sick man is to be urged to special confession, only "if he feels his conscience troubled with any weighty matter;" "after which confession, the priest shall absolve him (*if* he humbly and heartily desire it,) *after this sort*." Here are no less than three limitations. Special confession is not demanded in all cases; but only as a relief to a bosom oppressed with grievous sin; so that the Spiritual Physician, knowing the exact case of his patient, may prescribe for him with greater certainty. Secondly, after this confession is made, the Priest is not to volunteer this Absolution, unless it be humbly and heartily desired. *Humbly*, by one who evinces signs of true repentance and contrition, and who therefore may be believed fitly prepared for the Grace administered in God's name. *Heartily*, by one who will derive consolation from it, receive it with due reverence, and unpresumptuously hope for its blessed effect. It is not an unction for a wound still corrupt and festering; but for one purified and disposed to heal. Thirdly, the Priest is to absolve him "after this sort." By no means in the very words set down, unless he so pleases, but assuredly in their spirit. This spirit we are certain is not indicative of any unconditional remission, as has been falsely and perversely charged upon it. Many have supposed that the very ancient form from which these words are borrowed respected nothing more than Ecclesiastical censures. If such be their origin, those censures having become obsolete, the form relating to them might also be permitted to expire. At all events, some high authorities in our

Church recommend its sparing adoption. "Let not the Priest rashly cast this pearl before swine," says Dean Comber. "This Absolution is seldom pronounced," observes Archbishop Secker, after having stated its limitations; "whenever it is, it may and ought to be accompanied with such explanations as will prevent any wrong constructions." It is to be feared, however, that the dying ear will catch greedily at the text and neglect the commentary. That which requires explanation to make its purport clear, is ill adapted for a moment in which the mind ought to be approached with more than ordinary precision. No one can reasonably doubt, upon a fair review of this form, in conjunction with the general tenor of our whole Liturgy, with the cautions appended to its usage, and with the Prayer which immediately follows it, that it was designed and understood by the Church, not in any way as arbitrary and judicial, but altogether and entirely as conditional and declaratory. It might be as well, however, if, bearing in mind the indulgence of the Rubric, "after this sort," the Priest were to substitute, either that unobjectionable similar formulary which occurs in the Communion Service, or one equally unobjectionable, which Mr. Thompson has printed from Jeremy Taylor.

There is great good sense in the following remarks on the method in which it will be advisable for a Minister to proceed when called to the sick bed of one not yet awakened to the knowledge of salvation.

"III. INSTRUCTION OF UNBELIEVERS.

"He that cometh to God must believe that He is; and that He is a rewarder of them that diligently seek Him.' The existence of a God, and of his moral government, lie at the very foundation of all religion. Those who deny the first are not many: nor is the number great of those who doubt it. That such persons, if sincere, are not very accessible to reason, is evident; but their sincerity is very questionable. They believe, and tremble. And it is because they are unwilling to divulge their fears, that they conceal the belief that affrights them. If they really disbelieve, and their own existence leads them not to recognize a Creator, it is not likely that they should be influenced by argument. But as Atheists generally affect superior education, it were well to try them on answering Paley's 'Natural Theology,' and Locke's chapter 'On the Knowledge of the Being of a God.'

"The Epicurean, who, admitting the existence, denies the providence of God, is, religiously speaking, an Atheist. A God unconnected with man is the object of speculation, but not of religion. The Epicurean is without hope and without God in the world. This belief too is not very common, but is sometimes adopted to escape the monstrosity of Atheism, without discovering a dread of future retribution. Perhaps the Epicurean, who, like the Atheist, generally prides himself on his philosophical

powers, would, as matter of argument, do well to read Bishop Butler's 'Analogy.'

"It is a merciful provision of God that the minister has *never* to contend with Atheism on a death-bed. God makes himself acknowledged there. A future state is generally then matter of conviction, always of apprehension. Philosophical discourses are there as needless as they would be impossible. The pastor must occupy a different ground; and this the mercy of an insulted God has prepared for him. "Righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," made even a Felix tremble. The fear of judgment and the incapacity of self-salvation will introduce the doctrine of a willing and omnipotent Saviour, who reconciles God's strictest justice with the sublimest mercy.

"The observations made on the instruction of the ignorant will apply in all their fulness in the present division of the pastor's labours. For the most educated infidel (Atheist or Deist) is as ignorant in spiritual matters as the most uncultivated heathen: with this additional disadvantage, that, while the unenlightened savage offers an open ground for the erection of the spiritual building, the philosophick unbeliever has already piled up a heap of sophistical rubbish, which must be cleared away before the cross can be planted. He must bring himself to the state which he so much despises, or there is no hope for him. 'Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein.' 'If any man *seemeth* to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.'

"And perhaps this may be the best line of argument in all cases of infidelity, whether in sickness or otherwise. Let a man become once thoroughly convinced of his danger, and he will sincerely seek to avoid it; let him become sensible of his sinfulness, and he will be desirous of pardon. Single-hearted examination *must* lead to conviction. The heart is what the minister has most to deal with. Remove the 'evil heart of unbelief,' and you dispose the head to receive the evidences.

"The sceptick, whose doubts are confined to revelation, but who allows a God and a future state of retribution, must concede the reasonableness of prayer, or at least of a prayerful spirit, not as necessary to an omniscient God, but as highly becoming a dependent creature, and likely to be acceptable to the divine Intelligence. Let this disposition by all means be encouraged; where it is truly sincere it will certainly succeed. God will give his Holy Spirit to all who ask Him. 'If any lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him.' 'If any man will do the will of God, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God.' On these promises it is the duty of the Christian minister to rely, and guide his instructions accordingly.

"In this spirit let the unbeliever search the Christian evidences, and the result need not be feared. Christianity is a scheme which so exactly adapts itself to the hopes, fears, and necessities of our present state, that this alone is strong presumption of its truth: and this evidence of its divine power is scarcely less demonstrative, than the nourishment of our bodies is palpable proof of the necessity and utility of food.

"Such being the virtue of the 'sincere milk of the word' that we 'grow thereby' in spiritual nutrition, let the Bible itself stand first in its own evidences, and let the inquirer especially take care to master this. FEW INFIDELS ARE WELL READ IN THE BIBLE. They err, not knowing the Scriptures."—p. 151—155.

The Instructions for the Presumptuous, Self-righteous, or Overconfident, are characterized by equally sound discretion. It is shown briefly and simply, as regards the first of these three classes, that "no Election apart from the conditions of Repentance, Faith, and Obedience, is allowed by Scripture, or, indeed, by any Divines except the wild and enthusiastic Antinomian." The latter part of this statement, perhaps, requires qualification. We understand Mr. Thompson's meaning—namely, that such Election would probably be disavowed by numerous Divines who fall very short of Antinomianism, but who deviate from the language of the Church of England. Still, notwithstanding these disavowals, (the sincerity of which we are far from impugning,) we are confident that, by those who employ them, arbitrary Election is often virtually taught; and, if not believed by themselves, certainly admitted by their hearers. Mr. Thompson continues to prove that the viiith chapter of the Epistle to the Romans plainly recognizes the same doctrine as the rest of Scripture, by making Election depend upon God's fore-knowledge of those who give diligence, and work out their own salvation with fear and trembling; that the ixth chapter refers solely to temporal distinctions; that in numerous other chapters of the same Epistle, responsibility and the necessity of moral duties are earnestly inculcated; that in the Epistle to the Colossians, the possession of many Christian virtues is made a test of Election; that St. Paul never speaks of his own assurance as dispensing with personal exertion, but quite the contrary; and not even of this confidence respecting himself till the very time of his departure was at hand; and, lastly, that St. Peter has expressly guarded against the possibility of such misconstruction of Texts as may be wrested to destruction. After observing that the doctrine of irrespective Election is a favourite one with those who, after a careless life, are glad to rely on an idle presumption, Mr. Thompson adds the following note, which evinces his discrimination.

"The author, though believing the Calvinistick system wholly unscriptural, and most injurious, when *logically* pursued, is not here recommending conversions from mere metaphysical and speculative Calvinism. If a man can manage to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with his God, resting all his trust in the Saviour's all-sufficient sacrifice, and imploring the Holy Spirit to sanctify all his ways, and yet with all this, believe his God '*a slave master*,' (I use the comparison of a great Cal-

vinist, who defends slavery from it,) and himself a machine, let him enjoy his paradox. But the character above described, and too frequently met with, is one of whom all *religious* persons, (Calvinistick or Arminian,) must desire the conversion; though I see not with what arguments the Calvinist can undertake it."

A few notices of the Preparation of adults for Baptism, and of candidates for Confirmation, conclude this Section. The Second Part contains, First, A Series of Outlines of Sermons. Secondly, A list of Books for the use of the Clergy. The last of these is founded on high authorities, but will necessarily vary, more or less, according to the taste of the collector, and the means which he possesses to gratify that taste. It may be enough to say that no book has been admitted into the catalogue which we should not heartily desire to possess. The first Section of this Part is, perhaps, the most valuable portion of the whole volume. We cannot do better than state Mr. Thompson's design in it in his own words, assuring our readers, at the same time, that he has by no means fallen short of his intention.

"Mr. Simeon's homiletical works are universally allowed to be talented; but they are so leavened with Calvinism that much of them is useless to the larger proportion of the Clergy: and Bishop Beveridge rather informs the mind than assists composition."—p. viii.

"The outlines of Sermons are intended to serve a triple purpose. To form, collectively, together with Part I., a single outline of doctrinal and practical divinity; to explain difficulties or improve occasions arising out of the seasons and services of the Church; and to be auxiliary to the visitation scheme, by supplying at the moment texts and chapters as a case may require, and an outline of conversation as well as of composition. Subjects are sometimes started in pastoral visits which may be very advantageously illustrated by methodical discourse and a happy application of Scripture. The references to the original languages are not, of course, intended to be brought into immediate contact with unlettered or promiscuous congregations: they are given as the shortest and clearest mode of conveying the author's reasoning; and the preacher may transmit that reasoning to his auditors, without the introduction of grammatical terms. Most of the difficulties derived from the English Bible are to be removed by referring to the original. A sermon is given for each Sunday in the year."—pp. xiii. xiv.

"2. The CHOICE OF A SUBJECT is often determined by the circumstances of a parish; sometimes, by the occasion; and in other cases it may well be guided by some difficulty or instructive text in the Lessons, Epistle or Gospel. Provided such difficulty be doctrinal, and not on some dry point of chronology, &c.; except in exclusively educated congregations, and where such point has been used to the prejudice of revelation. OUR SAVIOUR'S DISCOURSES GENERALLY HAD REFERENCE TO CIRCUMSTANCES OF TIME, PLACE, OR VOCATION. 'A word spoken *in season*, how good is it!'

" 3. 'RIGHTLY DIVIDING THE WORD OF TRUTH' is an important duty. If referred to a system of Christian instruction, it may be understood to mean a clear exposition, particular and synoptical, of 'all the counsel of God.' This has been attempted in the following outlines, which, severally endeavouring to impart a distinct view of some Christian doctrine or duty, aim to embrace a correct idea of the dependence of all on each other. A sermon is a map of a province; the year's collection, if not a yet smaller, should form a map of the whole kingdom of heaven. If the Apostle's instruction be applied to a single sermon, we must understand it to signify a clear arrangement of the texts bearing on the subject we treat: the application of *all* such texts, and the application of none except in their *proper* meaning. Our subject too must be *chiefly* illustrated from those parts of Scripture which *expressly* treat it. To revert to our metaphor, it is not enough that we define the *limits* of our province; we must exhibit its *features*; and though we *trace* not, we should indicate the country on which it borders; for instance, repentance should never be preached without the atonement which makes it efficacious, nor faith without the works which are its proper fruit and evidence. The Apostolical precept may also be considered as referring to a judicious exhibition of the Gospel according to the spiritual condition of a congregation. See *Matt.* xiii. 11—16, *Mark* iv. 33, *John* xvi. 12, *1 Cor.* iii. 2, *Heb.* v. 11—14.

" 4. For the *STYLE*, nothing can be studied so advantageously as our Lord's discourses. Plain and intelligible, but noble and eloquent as simple, is in their description. Intelligibility is not necessarily vulgarity. 'I use great plainness of speech' is a good rule, and truly Scriptural by implication; though the 'plainness' of which the Apostle speaks has no reference to this subject. When there is any direct discourse of our Saviour's on the preacher's subject, that discourse should be constantly read till its spirit is imbibed, and its character transferred.—p. 205.

A single specimen of the Sermons may suffice, and it may be accepted as an honest average, for we have taken it almost at random. If we have been guided by any principle in our selection, it has been by a wish to show that, on a point of Divinity which has recently attracted much attention, the Logic of a retired Country Curate is, perhaps, not less correct than that of such writers as, by Academical residence, stand more fully in the public eye.

" SECOND SUNDAY AFTER EASTER.

" SERMON XXV.

" 8. The Sabbath.—T. *Mark*, ii. 27. 'The Sabbath was made for man, and not man for the Sabbath.'—PW. *σαββατον, ἡμέρα*.—SS. *Heb.* iv. —PP. *Gen.* ii. 2, 3. *Exod.* xx. 8—11; xxiii. 12; xxxi. 12—17; xxxiv. 21. *Lev.* xxiii. 3. *Numb.* xv. 32—36. *Deut.* v. 12—15. *Isa.* h. 6—8; lviii. 13, 14.

" Men love to deceive themselves; the sabbath-breaker tries to quiet his conscience by affirming the sabbath to be only an institution of the Levitical law.

- That it is a moral duty wholly independent of that law, appears from these considerations.

* I. The text says the Sabbath was made for man; not for the Jewish nation in particular, but for mankind in general.

* II. The account of its institution, PP. 2450 years before the birth of Moses, and when no human being but our first progenitors existed, shows that it was ordained to commemorate an event universally all mankind. It is not said that the Sabbath was then *pre-announced*, but actually *ordained*. It was therefore holy before the time of Moses, and is not merely Levitical.

* III. The period of seven days was observed by Noah (*Gen. viii.*), and by Lamech (*Gen. xlix. 27*) : now as this period is independent of planetary revolutions, its use must have continued in some positive institution, and what that was appears from *Gen. ii. 3*.

* IV. The Sabbath was observed by the Ishmaelites, and an express provision made for it, as near the delivery of the law, in language which shows it was then known. *Levit. xvi. 23*, seqq.

* V. The observance of the Sabbath appears in the Decalogue, all other precepts of which are acknowledged to be perpetual; it was inscribed by "the finger of God" on stone, not written by Moses in a book; it was proclaimed amid all the terrors and splendours of Sinai.

* By the seventh day appears to be meant, one day in seven; not any particular day. The Sunday appeared for the Jews, because it witnessed their deliverance from Egypt; hence the Sabbath had to be a sign between God and the Ishmaelites. (*Deut. x. 1*. *Exod. xli. 12*, &c.) as circumcision was, not because it is of Moses, but of the fathers. *John. vii. 22*.

* That the Sabbath, under the Gospel, was changed to the Sunday, because on that day Christ rose from the dead, appears from the following reasons:

* I. The early Christians, from the very moment of Christ's death, had religious assemblies on that day. *John. xx. 19*. *Acts. xii. 7*.

* II. They made charitable collections on that particular day. *1 Cor. xvi. 2*.

* III. It was called the Lord's day. *Rev. i. 10*.

* The Sabbath therefore was made for man; made for him by God; let us rejoice in it with thankfulness for this great blessing and means of spiritual advancement. *Psalm. cxviii. 24*.

* How truly the Sabbath was made for man appears from the case of Sabbath-breakers. Was an educated Sabbath-breaker ever a religious man in other respects? As for the uneducated criminals in their creation frequently have declared, that all their guilt and misery have proceeded from Sabbath-breaking.

* How the Sabbath is to be improved.

* I. By resting from all worldly concerns, doing all that we have to do on other days, and leaving nothing to be done on that day.

* II. By making religion the business of this day as our possessions or pursuits are the business of others.

* III. By attending both the publick services of the Church.

“IV. By domestick prayer and study of the Scriptures.

“V. By the religious instruction of our own families.

“But man is not made for the Sabbath; and mercy is better than sacrifice. Therefore if there be some act of charity which requires immediate attention, or cannot be performed at another time, the exercises of the day must yield to it. *Matt.* xii. 1—13. *Luke*, vi. 1—10; xiii. 10—17. *John*, vii. 23.

“Since then there remaineth a rest to the people of God, let us labour to enter into that rest, lest any man fall, &c. (*Heb.* iv. 9. 11), which we can best do, and best foretaste, by a diligent improvement of the Sabbath, which was made for man.”—pp. 289—292.

We shall conclude our notice of this highly valuable Manual by extracting a note relative to a practice, of the existence of which we were ignorant, and in reprobation of which we heartily concur with Mr. Thompson. Before parting, however, we may add, that the occasional Biblical learning which is very unobtrusively introduced in Mr. Thompson's notes, evinces qualifications for some far more elaborate Theological work than the one now before us; and that we shall most gladly learn that he is engaged in such an undertaking. The note to which we have above alluded belongs to a Sermon on the Lord's Supper.

“If there be any, who, in the most terrible sense of the words, are in danger of ‘eating and drinking their own damnation,’ it must be those who come merely with the view to receive the alms of the altar. I should have taken some notice of this subject in the Outline, did I not think it better respectfully to recommend to those into whose hands this volume may fall, an immediate abolition of this dangerous snare of souls. Where the communion money is distributed at the altar, it is scarcely possible but there should be some communicants guilty of this fatal sin; but even where it is divided among the poor at large, it is too often regarded as a premium for attendance or for absence—bad enough, either way. I have myself *witnessed* the evil effects of this system: and, in consequence, I have long since applied the alms of the altar to THE SICK ONLY, who must require them, and who cannot understand them in any other light than as a seasonable relief. If I may be allowed to extend a note which some may deem already too prolix, and others wholly impertinent, I will add that I have found the greatest benefits result from the application of this money, not *directly* to the sick, but to the purchase of such articles as a medical adviser, or obvious circumstances, might suggest. It will astonish those who have not tried the experiment, how much real good of this nature a small sum will effect.”—pp. 304, 305.

ART. VII.—*Sermons preached in the Parish Church of St. Botolph Bishopsgate.* By Charles James Blomfield, D. D. Rector, now Bishop of London. Rivingtons. London. 1829. 8vo. pp. 468. 12s.

THESE Sermons, coming as they avowedly do from a prelate not less remarkable for his erudition and talents, than for his useful and energetic labours in every department of that sacred profession through which he has so honourably passed, carry with them a title to the public attention, which requires no aid of ours either to explain or to enforce. Nevertheless, we are desirous upon this very ground to notice them as early as possible, especially as we think it likely that, looking only to the quarter from which they come, many persons may have been disposed to form expectations respecting them which it was neither the object of the author, nor indeed consistent with his object to fulfil. To set this matter right, it may be proper for us to state in the first instance, that they are a collection of Sermons preached to the Inhabitants of St. Botolph's Bishopsgate, a populous and commercial parish in the very centre of the Metropolis, over whose spiritual concerns the Right Reverend Prelate presided as rector for a considerable period, both before and after his elevation to his present rank. To these persons they are expressly and affectionately dedicated, and for their edification they were composed; and it is chiefly by their fitness for the attainment of this end that they must be judged. "We are ambassadors of Christ," says St. Paul, "as though God did beseech you by us." Under this character, and a nobler one on earth cannot be imagined, every parochial minister, whatever be his rank or station in the Church, must be viewed—and next to fidelity in the execution of his charge, (for it is first required of a minister that he be faithful,) one special proof which will be expected of his earnestness as well as his discretion in the cause, is to study well the genius and disposition of the people to whom he is sent, that he may so accommodate the matter and manner of his commission as to render it an acceptable, and at all events an intelligible, abiding, and influential principle of thought and action amongst them. It is the same gracious message which is sent to all, the message of reconciliation and peace, "We beseech you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." But to give due effect to this message, the terms in which it is conveyed, the motives by which it is enforced, and the aspects in which it is placed, must be modified and varied according to the prevailing wants and capacities of those who are to receive it; and upon the prudence and singleness of heart with which this part of the duty is discharged must

depend much of the usefulness of the Christian minister and much of his acceptableness with God. Without this all the learning and eloquence in the world may be useless, or lavished only to mislead; and with it a moderate degree of them may suffice. Nor can any rank or distinction exempt a man from regard to this caution,—on the contrary such eminence only enhances the importance and increases the responsibility of the charge; and when we consider how low the Lord of Life condescended to stoop, that he might preach the Gospel to the poor; how he disrobed himself of all his glory, that he might obtain an inheritance for the meek and lowly; we must consider it as a melancholy proof of the corruption of our nature, enough to make angels weep,—when men employed in the work in which he was employed, and acting under his authority and commission, can, in the presence of his bright example and in the contemplation of the imperishable interests committed to them, suffer their own earthly views to interfere with the effectual discharge of such a duty, and cause them to violate the very principle and foundation of the Gospel.

But plain and imperative as the duty is, and awful as the responsibility attached to it must be, certain we are, both from what we hear and read, that the neglect of it is much more general and more injurious, both in and out of the sanctuary, than those most interested in the matter are aware. For not to dwell upon the love of ease, a sin which so easily besets us, there is another subtle and earthly principle at work, even with laborious and energetic men, which indisposes them for the due discharge of this duty, and is a perpetual stumbling block in their way, and that is, the love of applause; they cannot bear to lower themselves to the standard of vulgar men—they think more of what is becoming to themselves to utter than what is profitable to their audience to hear, and therefore shrink from a close and steady view of the real state and posture of mind in which their hearers stand. Reputation, the most specious and often the most powerful of mortal ties, is the last reluctant sacrifice which the faithful minister is content to make in the service of his master; and to know how to be abased, and to be accounted foolish for Christ's sake, argues a degree of perfection in the Christian school which few persons can attain. Even good and conscientious ministers, accustomed to try and examine themselves, have confessed with bitterness of heart, how difficult it has been for them to exclude earthly prospects and motives from their exhibition of evangelical truth, and that even in their sublimest flights, their view, like that of the eagle, has been bent upon some earthly prey below. Nay to be entirely indifferent to earthly praise or dispraise, argues something even of a higher nature—"My Lord the King," said the woman of David,

“is like an angel of God, which will neither be moved with blessing and cursing.” And yet this is the point attained by St. Paul, through honour and dishonour, through evil report and good report, and this is the point to which every minister should aspire.

To return, however, from this speculation, into which we have been insensibly led too far, we are anxious to observe, that the Sermons before us are entirely exempt from this fault—that they are addressed with great faithfulness and simplicity immediately to their one object, and must have been no less intelligible than they are applicable to the persons for whom they were composed; but in proportion as they may be said to have attained this success, in the same degree may they fail of satisfying many readers, who, regarding the author chiefly on the side of his learning and classical distinctions—as a learned divine, rather than a Christian pastor—expect only from him such subjects and such modes of treating them as might be best calculated to set off these endowments to the best advantage. To none of these the Sermons before us are likely to give pleasure; they contain no striking paradoxes, no subtle and recondite disquisitions, no learned philological inquiries, no ambitious display of eloquence or of intricate reasoning, no knotty points of controversy, no marked or novel views of the Christian faith; but what is infinitely better, they contain plain and correct statements of the doctrines necessary to salvation, unfolded with great clearness, settled upon the basis of sound scriptural authorities, and recommended by their influence upon the hearts and consciences of men—sound expositions of the Divine counsels at different epoques of the Scripture history—and awful lessons of Christian morals, drawn from the striking circumstances or events of the times, and brought home to the bosoms of the hearers at seasons when they were most open and best attuned to receive them. Such is the matter of the Sermons, and the treatment of it is not less consistent and appropriate. The subjects are opened with great plainness, but with peculiar felicity and skill—placed in few but striking lights, and pursued always to important ends. The language is simple and unpretending, but easy, pure, and classical—sufficiently copious for the full conveyance of the author's sense, but without a word too much, either for amplification or ornament; and there prevails throughout such sound sense and clearness of reasoning, with so much earnestness and warmth, as must have carried with them strong convictions when they were preached, and will never fail of renewing them when read. But when we pronounce these Sermons to be excellently adapted for those to whom they are inscribed, we must not be imagined to mean, that the benefits to be derived from them are likely to be

confined to the narrow circle of his parishioners, or even to that extensive and influential class which they may be said to represent. This would be a great injustice both to the work itself and to the opinion we have formed of it. The persons in question, though deeply immersed in business, and having little leisure for literary pursuits, are generally men of shrewd and intelligent minds, perfectly competent to comprehend the fullest exhibition of the Christian doctrines, as well as of the evidence on which they rest. Much, therefore, of what is said to them, may be said with advantage to all; and if on the one hand the habits in which such men live, their eagerness and competition in business, and their hastening to be rich, may require strong and powerful calls on the part of the preacher to rouse them from that spiritual sloth which these habits are wont to induce—it will not be denied that the votaries of pleasure or of ambition, and even the ardent cultivators of this world's wisdom, stand in need of warnings not less striking, and of remonstrances not less strong, to wean them from the things on which they doat, and to raise their affections to things above. In such lessons these discourses will not be found wanting. We know, indeed, no other more trying, or more searching—which tear away the veil more effectually from the eyes of the nominal Christian, or speak more plainly or more loudly to the understandings and the consciences of all.

Besides it is always curious and instructive to observe the impressions made by these high matters upon strong and cultivated minds; and when they contain, as these unquestionably do, such decided marks of sincerity, as to carry with them a conviction that they are faithful transcripts from the author's mind, they will be received with greater interest, and are likely to be productive of greater good. In this respect we recommend them strongly to readers of every description, and we venture to pronounce that the more they are studied the more they will be approved; this at least is the fruit of our own experience. Common as the topics for the most part are, and ought to be, they are not treated in a common way; and without any departure from that ease and simplicity which reigns throughout them, there will be found interspersed many noble and elevated views of the Christian scheme, conceived with so much justness and expressed with so much eloquence and force as to satisfy the most fastidious. To this we may add, that the great doctrines of Christianity are always brought forward in a manly uncompromising spirit; and that the whole counsel of God is fairly and openly declared.

There is indeed one quality, and we are bound to state it, in which we conceive them to be somewhat defective—and that is persuasiveness—that power by which the preacher gently but

powerfully moves the hearts of the audience to the reception and appropriation of the Christian truth—which sometimes modifies as an element every part of a discourse, but which particularly shows itself in kind entreaties and remonstrances, and in appeals to those better feelings of our nature, which bind the preacher to his audience, and both to the common author of their faith. We are well aware indeed that this mode of teaching is better adapted for some subjects than for others, and that there are times and places in which it would be altogether unseasonable; but in Pastoral Sermons it always enters with peculiar gracefulness, propriety, and effect, as it arises naturally out of the relations of the parties, and is founded upon the affections which these relations are calculated to inspire. It is the proper fruit of that tender anxiety and concern, which every good shepherd feels for the spiritual welfare of his flock, combined with a deep and solemn conviction that what he urges is essential to their welfare; and when it is met and seconded by a lively sense of this solicitude on the part of the hearers, and corresponding desire to profit by it, we know not in the circle of those means which God has made subservient to the great work of bringing men to Christ, a more influential one than this. Its obvious effect is to make Religion what it ought to be, an affair of sentiment as well as of reason—to place it in the heart and the affections—in those seats, where the corruption of our nature is found to dwell and reign, where the enemy must be met and the conflict must be carried on, and the victory by the grace of God must be achieved; not that this instruction should precede the convictions of the judgment, much less supersede them in the minds of the audience, for then would their faith be unstable as water, and liable to be blown about with every wind of doctrine; but it should be ever at hand to give life and energy to them, to confirm, to support, and indeed to carry them into effect. It is one thing to convince, and another to persuade; and besides that the reason is cold and dilatory at the best, there are so many opposite views and principles, which ought to regulate it, and which are not always present, that it is liable to pause and to wander at every step; but the movements of the affections are much more ready and decided, and when the truth of God's word is once well established in the mind and then mixed up with faith and love in the heart—when it is founded in knowledge and animated by affection, then is the best hope that the Christian character will be justly and permanently formed.

Now the defect of these Discourses appears to be, that they do not sufficiently apply themselves to these sensitive springs of human action; that the spirit of affectionate entreaty does not appear in its due measure and proportion throughout them; and

the consequence is, that in most of the Discourses the unfolding of the subject is more perfect than the application of it, and that the whole effect is less warm and affecting than it ought to be. It is clear, however, that this defect is of more consequence in the Church than in the closet, nor should we have thought it necessary to dwell upon it at all, if we had not been convinced from something occurring in the work, that the cause may be traced rather to a scrupulous anxiety to avoid what is so liable to abuse, than to any inaptitude for such appeals, or want of taste in the use of them; and in this opinion we are confirmed by the farewell sermon, which contains many happy specimens of this kind of writing, calculated to produce strong impressions upon the minds of an audience so kindly disposed towards their pastor as his undoubtedly was, and highly honourable to his own character and feelings.

The discourse which offers itself most readily to our notice is entitled, "Infidelity caused by ignorance and ungodliness;" a proposition involving matter of great weight and importance at all times, but particularly seasonable in the present day, when some portentous instances of gifted infidelity have crossed upon our path and forced upon us the question, by what means this wretched pre-eminence could have been attained. To this question, the Bishop's sermon affords a direct answer. He proves in a clear and compendious way, from what causes it frequently happens, that men of highly cultivated minds, with talents and acquirements which if well directed, might have thrown a lustre over the Christian scheme, become by degrees, indifferent, hardened, and at last hostile to it, by an intellectual process as vulgar and irrational as it is vicious and degrading; and hence are derived two salutary warnings to the younger and less instructed, never to trust to their own reason in this most important question, till they have the answer of a good conscience towards God; and secondly, not to be led by the authority of a splendid name, into errors which bring with them trouble and disappointment here, and inevitable misery hereafter.

The text is 1 Tim. i. 19. "Holding faith and a good conscience, which some having put away, concerning faith have made shipwreck."

Having explained the position, that a dissolution of the moral principle is the necessary consequence of a want of true religious faith, he proceeds to prove, that a deficiency of moral principle, is often the cause, as well as the effect of unbelief and apostacy. With this view, he describes with great force and ability, the several ways, in which the same gospel, which is attractive to the pious and humble, is repulsive to the sensualist

and the worldly-minded; and that while the latter carries about with him perpetually in his own bosom an enemy to the pleadings of the Word, the latter bears within him, a friend and an advocate ever ready to support them. Having established this fact, he goes on to state, that in the present habits of our society, young people rarely come to the consideration of the Christian scheme, with hearts unoccupied, and judgments unbiassed and unprejudiced; partly because in the present state of education the moral character is usually formed, before religious inquiry is begun in earnest; and partly because when this inquiry is undertaken at a period early enough to afford a better promise, the instruction is usually carried on in so defective a manner by those to whom it is committed, as to afford no fair prospect of a good result; nay, rather to prove an obstacle than an aid to just conclusions, when the question becomes afterwards of more serious concern to them, and their minds more competent to comprehend it.

“ There is a sort of current phraseology on matters of religion, to which children are accustomed from their earliest years; which they soon learn by rote, and fix in their memory; but which does not always find its way to their heart. This is the case, when parents content themselves with merely teaching their children verbal articles of faith, and established formularies of devotion, without taking pains to elucidate their meaning, to establish their authority, or to enforce them by their own practice; and without directing their attention to the sacred oracles of truth, or to the source of grace and strength. Young persons, so educated, will be too likely to grow up mere formalists; and two pernicious consequences will ensue from the want of a solid foundation to their faith. They have been accustomed to consider themselves as possessed of religion; yet they do not find that it enables them to withstand temptation; nor, when they have sinned, does it excite a lively remorse and repentance in their minds: they soon come, therefore to consider it as an inefficacious principle. Then, in the next place, when they hear the truth of the Christian religion assailed with objections, however trite and captious, they are surprised to find themselves wholly unable to answer them: and instead of being excited by their doubts to institute a more exact inquiry, they conclude at once, that the objections are unanswerable; and readily embrace a system of unbelief, which is as acceptable to their passions, as it is convincing to their ignorance.

“ These considerations may serve to show, by what process it not unfrequently happens, that a person, highly gifted by his Maker with powers both to investigate and to illustrate divine truth, may yet, in his intellectual career, pass through the intermediate stages of religious indifference and doubt, to a state of fixed and hardened unbelief. Religion, as I observed, if his attention was at all directed to it in his early years, has been with him a mere matter of custom and routine, a compliance with established terms and forms; while all the powers and energies of his mind were exerted in the acquisition of knowledge, commonly so

called, or in the boundless fields of imagination, from which a rich harvest of worldly reputation is to be reaped. How easy and natural a process it is, for such a person, first to undervalue the importance of religion, of which he has never felt the comfort, nor the grace; and, when it interferes with passion, and imposes an irksome restraint upon nature, to begin to doubt its authority; to embrace with eagerness the most obvious and popular objections, and to take his stand even on a single difficulty, against a system, which uncompromisingly asserts the duty of spiritual holiness, and the certainty of God's retributive justice.

"Such instances, when unhappily they occur, furnish no valid argument against Christianity, in behalf of infidelity, or atheism; because it is obvious, that those very powers of mind, which are by misdirection dedicated to the service of sin, and are retained by the passions as advocates in the cause of unbelief, if they had been devoted, with sincerity and singleness of heart, to the investigation of a rule of life, might have perceived the force of those proofs, and the importance of those restraints, which now they proudly deny and reject.

"Such instances, I repeat, afford no substantial argument against the truth of the Gospel. This point is urged, because although, in fact, the reception, or the rejection of truth by other men, as it makes no difference in its intrinsic claims, ought to make no difference in *our* disposition towards it; yet there is a natural inclination in almost all men, to defer to the authority of eminent talents, even in questions, of which they are themselves perfectly competent judges. But, if the evidences of Christianity are satisfactory to your own mind, it ought to be a matter of absolute indifference to you, as far as its truth is concerned, who embraces, or who rejects it. You must indeed pity, and, if possible, persuade, those unhappy persons, who *make shipwreck of their faith*; but it were strange folly indeed for *you*, who have experienced the Gospel to be *full of Grace and truth*, to suspect the stability of your own religious principles, because other men have built without a foundation; and to sacrifice your own comfort and hopes to the authority of a splendid name.

"Again then I assert, that such instances of highly gifted infidelity, are no argument against the truth of our holy religion. But I will tell you what they are; and in that point of view I earnestly intreat you to consider them with seriousness, and with fear. They are sad and signal instances of that perverseness of human nature, which converts to the purposes of evil the best and noblest gifts of God. They are striking proofs of the necessary connection between a depraved heart and a moral blindness of the understanding; to which the Apostle alludes, when he says, that *some, having put away a good conscience, concerning faith have made shipwreck*. They teach us, that the finest talents, far from ascertaining any man's success in his search after divine truth, may powerfully obstruct its reception, if they be previously engaged in the cause of libertinism and sensuality. Above all, they are awful warnings, which which may serve to admonish us, that when man, proud and impious man, abuses to the ends of sin, those faculties which the Almighty Source of Wisdom gave him for the instruction and improvement of mankind, he is oftentimes abandoned in judgment, to the misgovernment of his

own perverted reason, and suffered to be tossed to and fro by every gust of passion, without consistency or respect in this world, and without hope in that which is to come. A more melancholy and awful spectacle can hardly be presented to the mind, than that of a reasonable being, made in the likeness of his Creator, for the purposes of God's glory and his own eternal happiness, misled by practical ungodliness, and wilful ignorance, into the mazes of unbelief; not only *forsaking God who made him and lightly esteeming the rock of his salvation*,* but *treading underfoot the Son of God, and doing despite unto the Spirit of grace*;† not only neglecting the revealed will of God, but ridiculing and reviling it; not only indulging, without remorse, in every sinful pleasure which the Gospel forbids; but infusing the poison of immorality into the minds of others; labouring to vitiate the source of public principle, to weaken all the ties of virtue, and to pave the way for infidelity and atheism, by familiarizing the minds of thousands to the profane and impure effusions of a perverted imagination and a corrupt heart; to see him, deriding, with bitter sarcasms, the commerce of Christian society, and the softening intercourse of domestic life; casting around him, as in sport, firebrands, arrows, and death; and exulting in the moral destruction which he has wrought.

“This is indeed a melancholy sight: but mark the result. The God, whom he insults, and affects to disbelieve, at length forsakes him, and gives him up to the hardness of an impenitent heart. Then conscience is utterly extinguished and put away; the *light* that is in him becomes *darkness*; he is precipitated, by a restless and insatiable love of sin, from one degree of wickedness to another; his peace of mind destroyed; and by degrees his bodily strength decayed; the respect of all good men forfeited; admiration succeeded by pity and contempt; conversion seems to be hopeless, condemnation unavoidable; and at last, perhaps, in the midst of his unholy and mischievous career, the decree of the Almighty goes forth, and the wretched man is suddenly taken away to abide the coming of his eternal Judge.”—vol. i. pp. 23—30.

As a contrast to this powerful and eloquent picture, and in the hope of adding to its effect, by a display, not less striking, of the blessings attending upon an opposite process, we have ventured to add here a passage from a modern author, who in other respects is well entitled to attention.

“On the other hand, it would be interesting to record or to hear the history of a character which has received its form, and reached its maturity, under the strongest efficacy of religion. We do not know that there is a more beneficial or a more direct mode of the divine agency in any part of the creation, than that which ‘apprehends’ a man as apostolic language expresses it, amidst the unthinking crowd, constrains him to serious reflection, subdues him under persuasive conviction, elevates him to devotion, and matures him in progressive virtue, in order to his passing finally to a nobler state of existence. When he has long been commanded by this influence, he will be happy to look back to its first

* Deut. xxxii. 15.

† Heb. x. 29.

operations, whether they were mingled in early life almost insensibly with his feelings, or came on him with mighty force at some particular time, and in connection with some assignable and memorable circumstance, which was apparently the instrumental cause. He will trace the progress of this his better life, with grateful acknowledgment to the sacred power that has wrought him to a confirmation of religious habit, which puts the final seal on his character. In the great majority of things, habit is a greater plague than ever afflicted Egypt; in religious character, it is eminently a felicity. The devout man exults to feel that in aid of the *simple* force of the divine principles within him, there has grown up by time an accessional power, which has almost taken place of his will, and holds a firm though quiet domination through the general action of his mind. He feels this confirmed habit as the grasp of the hand of God, which will never let him go. From this advanced state, he looks with confidence on futurity, and says, I carry the indelible mark upon me that I belong to God, by being devoted to him I am free of the universe—and I am ready to go to any world to which he shall please to transmit me, certain that every where, in height or depth he will acknowledge me for ever."

We cannot dismiss this important subject without one or two observations which have occurred to us. The ground of the Bishop's reasoning is this—that religious inquiry, however it may be accounted for, is seldom taken in hand, till the moral character is formed, and that the result of that inquiry, will materially depend upon the question, whether that character be good or bad. These are the positions he lays down; and when under the impression which they are calculated to produce, we are led to consider in what manner, this important work of forming the moral habitudes is generally carried on,—how powerful the force of those baneful influences which haunt the path of youth on every side, and hurry them on to the indulgence of their passions, and how feeble the barriers which in a corrupted nature are usually opposed to them, we cannot wonder that when the time for this serious inquiry at last arrives (if come it does at all) the cause of Christianity—that cause above all others, essential to their happiness,—should be found to suffer from the effects of such a preparation. We cannot wonder that the state of their minds should be unfavourable to religious truth—that the result in some cases should be infidelity, in others, indifference and nominal Christianity, and that few, comparatively speaking, should be found who receive with meekness the engrafted Word. Without dwelling upon the causes of this lamentable defect, which would have led him perhaps too far, the Bishop says it is mainly the fault of education, and we know not, indeed, to what other it can or ought to be attributed; other influences there are, no doubt, some conflicting and some conspiring with each other, at home and abroad, which

contribute more or less in forming the character of youth ; and sometimes it happens that a single striking event, or a powerful attachment, sets a seal upon the mind for ever ; but still it must be allowed that education, strictly so called, is the most tangible and the most fruitful source of those impressions and motives by which the taste and habits are formed ; and whether the change desired should be sought in an earlier direction of the youthful understanding to the doctrines and evidence of Christianity, or in a closer, more constant, and more effectual application of Christian faith and principles and of Christian models to the formation of the character, before the judgment is ripe for the consideration of evidence, it is clear that our schools and seminaries are the only quarters from which we can expect it. Under this impression it is a great consolation to know, that some progress has been already made towards so desirable an end ; that at the very moment in which we are writing, measures are in operation in several of our public schools, calculated to remedy the defect ; that the limits of instruction have been extended beyond the boundaries, which long prescription has established for them, and particularly on the side of Christian evidence and Christian knowledge ; so that in future there is reason to hope that the nurture of our moral and religious nature will be made an object of higher care, and that the perceptions and the feelings of the scholar will be trained more in unison with the Christian scheme.

As a decisive proof of what we have advanced, we shall here subjoin a copy of the questions in divinity, proposed to the boys of the sixth form, at Harrow, at the annual examination of November, 1829.

“ SIXTH FORM EXAMINATION.—*November, 1829.*

“ I.—SCRIPTURAL.

“ 1. What was the prophecy delivered by Noah as to the fortunes of his descendants ; and how was it fulfilled ?

“ 2. State Jacob's prophecy concerning Judah, with its fulfilment ; explaining the political condition of the Jews at the time of our Saviour's birth.

“ 3. In what words did Moses foretell the coming of the Messiah ? Show the points of resemblance between Moses and our Saviour.

“ 4. What was the origin of the Samaritans, and what the state of their religion at the time of our Lord's ministry ? How did it differ from the Jewish religion ?

“ 5. Give a description of the Temple of Jerusalem.

“ 6. Give the dates of the call of Abraham, the Exodus, the appointment of Saul as king, the Assyrian and Babylonish captivities, and of Ezra's commission.

“ 7. State the object of our Lord's temptation, with the practical inferences to be deduced from it.

" 8. What seems to have been our Lord's principal object in the Sermon on the mount ?

" 9. What is the Christian doctrine of justification ? How does St. Paul vindicate it from the imputation of encouraging sin ? What is a Christian's motive to obedience ?

" 10. How were both the ceremonial and moral law of Moses conducive to the reception of the doctrine of the atonement ?"

We hail this change, which is called for by the spirit and character of the age not less than by the interests of religion, with great delight ; and we believe that if it should be fairly persisted in by men intent upon the work, followed up by the improvements of which it may be susceptible, and adopted by other schools as it has been already by some, it may be productive of incalculable blessings to thousands, of great credit to the church, and of honour to the whole Christian name.

We are well aware indeed that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, and notwithstanding the most watchful care in the prevention of moral contagion, and in the inculcation of religious principles and truths, there will be instances of failure sufficient to humble us in our own eyes, and to convince us, that though one may plant and another may water, it is God alone who can give the increase ; and that to Him, in all our care, we should apply. But still it is probable, probable to the extent of giving the most cheering influence to our exertions, that God will bless the means which he himself has imparted and pointed out to us ; and when we look practically to the effects produced by education, particularly in pious families, we shall find encouragement enough in their results cheerfully to ply our labours, and to trust that, if we really train up a child in the way he should go, when he is old he will not depart from it.

It may be thought perhaps, by many, and certainly it will be alleged by those who have most reason to feel it, that the Right Rev. Prelate has exaggerated in this Discourse the influence of the conscience in the rejection or reception of the Christian Doctrines,—that strictly speaking, the judgment has no concern whatever with the will—and, that however extravagantly men may occasionally act or talk upon such subjects, they must, in truth, believe according as the evidence appears to them, on whatever side it may preponderate—and that their actions and conduct, sooner or later, must follow their convictions. Nay, one favourite argument of the Infidel, against the credibility of the Christian religion, is built upon a persuasion of this kind,—viz. that if Christ had really done such miracles, as have been attributed to him in the Gospel, if he had healed the sick, and raised the dead to life by a word, in the presence of so many of his

countrymen, they could not have been proof against these unquestionable demonstrations of infinite power, but must have yielded at once to his pretensions, and hailed him with one voice as the Messiah.

But, however such persons may delude themselves to their own undoing, certain it is, that the whole voice of history and the experience of every day is against them. In matters of ordinary life, respecting facts, or principles, or character, where human interests and passions intervene, and where conflicting testimony or appearances leave the slightest room for doubt, it is melancholy to see, how few are the instances of pure unbiassed reasoning which occur—how strangely the measure we take of people's intellectual acquirements or endowments, depends upon the degree of kindness or dislike in which we hold them—how frequently convictions take place at the very moment when interest or convenience requires that they should; and even when the facts themselves are such as to exclude all doubts respecting them, how different are the conclusions drawn by men of different dispositions, who reason from them. And if this be true, in matters of worldly interests, how much more likely is it to take place in our estimate and reception of Religion—where moral habits are involved amounting almost in effect to judicial blindness, changes so difficult as to be represented only by a new creation, and sacrifices almost as costly as the plucking out an eye or the tearing off a limb. With respect, however, to the Gospel miracles, it is our strong belief and conviction, that the narratives of them in the Evangelists, instead of favouring the doubts of the Infidel, do, in fact, constitute an argument which is capable of being turned with great force and truth against them. It would be curious and instructive to collect and to classify the various effects of the miracles of our Lord, as related in the Gospel, upon the minds of different spectators, according to the various passions, views, or dispositions of those who witnessed them,—curious, as exhibiting all the various moral phænomena, which our knowledge of the human mind would have taught us *à priori* to expect; and edifying, not only as throwing light upon the Bishop's reasoning, but also as adding to the weight of that internal evidence to their own truth, which the Scriptures uniformly bear. In one instance of miraculous power, we find the people wondered,—but, as stupid persons are wont to do, when any thing new and strange is presented to them, they stopped short at this movement, and made no reflections upon the causes or the end of that which so astonished them. In another still more remarkable, they went one step further, and inquired, “Is not this the Son of David?”—And

in a third, they were astonished above measure, and cried, He has done all things well; he has made the deaf to hear, and the dumb to speak. All this is very natural and consistent; and if these and other instances, which might be adduced, present to us features, precisely such as the minds of the populace, for the most part cramped and fettered by ignorance, but sometimes just and honest, might lead us to expect: so also does the Gospel account of the conduct and reasoning of the Scribes and Pharisees, under the impression of the same facts, bear a like stamp of consistency and truth. They could not but admit the fact. This man doeth many miracles,—and they were compelled from fear of the impressions they might make upon the people, to account for them; but their minds were blinded by a combination of prejudices and passions, quite sufficient to account for the perversion of their reasoning and the obstinacy of their hearts,—pride, bigotry, selfishness, hypocrisy, fear on their own account, and personal hatred to Christ, who openly condemned and exposed them. Under such impressions, and familiar as they were besides with the notion of malevolent and apostate spirits, to whom they ascribed the power of performing miracles, it was not likely, while any other solution could be found, that they would admit an inference so calculated utterly to confound and to humble themselves, as, that God was with him; they therefore perversely concluded that he performed miracles through Belzebub, the chief of the devils.

It would lead us too far to pursue this inquiry as it deserves; but, as from the nature of things, it might be reasonable to expect that some instances of perfect and others of partial convictions should occur, so also does the Scripture present them to us. Nicodemus rightly concluded, that no man could do those miracles unless God were with him; but he came by night for fear of giving offence. The rich youth, who, struck with the miracles and wisdom of our Lord, volunteered to become a disciple, found his zeal relax when poverty and self-denial were held out to him; and even the apostles themselves, impressed as they were with inveterate and erroneous notions with respect to the nature of the Messiah's kingdom, and looking chiefly for the restoration of Israel, deserted him, and fled upon his trial and crucifixion when these hopes were crushed. In truth, the whole account of the effects, both of the miracles and the teaching, is such as might have been expected from the circumstances of the case: and though the consequences of God's displeasure in an eternal state are more formidable since the publication of the Gospel than they were felt by the Jews, and the prejudices of pride are more inveterate and obstinate than those of profligacy; yet we are not

sure that if the *abandoned* infidel of our own days were to witness a miracle, and be commanded in proof of his faith to renounce his sensual pleasures, to mortify his fleshly desires, to humble himself in the eyes of his fellow-creatures and before God, to take up his cross and to follow Jesus to shame, disgrace or death—that he would believe with all his heart as well as with his understanding.

While engaged upon this subject we have accidentally fallen upon a passage relating to Mr. John Hampden, in a *Life of Calamy*, in which the whole process of the Bishop's reasoning, and all the circumstances of his case—the learning and the attainments of the individual, the state of his understanding and his conscience, the unsound basis of his apostacy, the dreadful consequences of his errors, and the lessons to be drawn from them—are so remarkably illustrated and confirmed, on the most unquestionable authority, that we cannot forbear submitting it to our readers. The gentleman in question was the grandson of the great patriot John Hampden—himself a scholar and fine gentleman, as described by Evelyn—"a critic in Greek, Latin and Hebrew, according to Burnet, and the learnedest gentleman the Bishop had ever known;" and the passage we propose is extracted from a testamentary paper signed by Mr. Hampden himself, and given by him to Dr. Allix, by whom it was afterwards delivered to Bishop Patrick, who desired in his will, that if he died before Mr. Hampden, it should be restored to him. It appears that Mr. Hampden had fallen into bad society and profligate habits during his travels, which had loosened the principles of Christianity, in which he had been educated, and prepared him for the commission of crimes upon his return home, for which he was tried and severely punished; and that having on his last trial begged his life with great meanness, he was afterwards so ashamed of himself that he cut his own throat. After acknowledging in this paper, drawn up long before his death, that the hand of God was heavy upon him on account of his errors, which he chiefly attributes to vanity and love of applause, and particularly lamenting the assistance he had given to Richard Simon, in the publication of a work which he knew beforehand would be injurious to the cause of Christianity, he thus proceeds:

"I do likewise acknowledge, that though I had but very weak arguments to support my libertine opinions, and such as, I believe, I could have easily answered, and as could not make any impression but upon those who are willing to cast off the yoke of their duty and the obligation we are all under to live in the fear of God; yet I was so rash and foolish as to pretend I thought there was great strength in them, when I insinuated rather than opened them to some of my familiar acquaintance; and I am afraid I have contributed thereby to cast some of them

into opinions, and perhaps practices, contrary both to the truths and commandments of the Christian religion."

He then proceeds to particulars, and thus ends.

"This confession I make with all possible sincerity, and with much grief for having offended God by so great a sin, for which I heartily beg pardon of him; and I do earnestly beseech all those who may to any degree have been seduced, either by my discourses or example, that they would seriously reflect upon the danger they are in, that they may be delivered from it in time, and from such judgments of God as he has been pleased to lay upon me.

"This confession I have written and signed with my hand, to the end that if I should die before I can speak with those whom I have perverted by my example, they may return to themselves and to God, as I do by this solemn protestation which I make to them, that the opinions which I may have taught them were nothing but the effect of my pride and vanity, which I unfeignedly condemn; desiring to live and die in those which are contained in this paper.

J. HAMPDEN."

The Discourse upon the Creation harmonizes well with the majesty of the subject, and presents to us many passages calculated to elevate our thoughts, and to leave upon our minds strong impressions of the wisdom and the goodness of the Deity. But what we admire most in it is the skill with which the author has interwoven Christian lessons into his reflections upon an event the most remote in point of time from the Christian era, and, excepting in one essential point, apparently the least pregnant with matter for them. After expatiating largely upon the sublimity and simplicity of the Mosaic history, and the marks of truth, internal as well as external, which it bears, particularly in comparison with the Pagan accounts of the same event, he thus proceeds:

"*In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.* The Christian Scriptures inform us that he created them by his Son, his eternal Son, whom he appointed heir of all things; by whom also he made the worlds. *In the beginning was the Word; and the Word was with God; and the Word was God.* All things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made. By him were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, (that is, the different orders of angelic beings,) all things were created by him and for him. Such is the concurrent testimony, borne by two Apostles, to a truth which ought to be deeply imprinted in a Christian's heart, that the world was made by and for Jesus Christ; to be the scene of his creating, his protecting, his redeeming power. By him all things were at first created; by him was the work of redemption undertaken, when the first promise was given to his fallen creatures; by him were direct personal communications made to the patriarchs from the Deity; by him were the children of Israel visibly protected and guided through the wilderness; to him was turned,

with steady gaze, the eye of prophecy; the rise and fall of empires were preparatory to the establishment and growth of his universal kingdom. *He upholdeth all things by the word of his power*; and exercises dominion and providence over the world; and will continue so to do till the end cometh, when he shall have subdued all things unto himself; and shall deliver up the kingdom to God, even the Father; and angels, and glorified spirits will behold him, as he was in the beginning, one with the Eternal Father; *Alpha and Omega; the beginning and the end; the first and the last.*

“*God created the heaven and the earth.* He created them for his own glory; monuments of his power, and of his mercy. Well may we conceive those spirits of a purer essence, whom he had called into being before the existence of the world, contemplating with surprise and joy the wonders and beauties of the new creation, *when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy.* Feelings of admiration and thankfulness, the same in kind, but less intense in degree, in proportion to the more limited scope of our knowledge, ought surely to be awakened in us, who partake, with those higher orders of intellectual existence, the privilege of ascending through the works of nature to nature's God. Whether in those glorious orbs which are set in the firmament of heaven; in the stated recurrence of the seasons, seed time and harvest, the former and the latter rain; in the countless varieties of beings endued with life and motion; in the uses and beauties of the vegetable world; in the wonderful fabric and adaptation of the parts of organized matter: in any and in all of these, the pious mind will trace the finger of an all-wise Creator, and discover the tendency of all his works to accomplish the purposes of perfect benevolence. *God saw every thing that he had made; and, behold, it was very good.*

“In order to appreciate, according to its value, the weight and splendour of that testimony, which the visible creation bears to the power and goodness of the Creator, we should accustom ourselves to consider, what would be the sensations and reflections of a reasonable being, were it possible, that after a period of seclusion in darkness and solitude, the glories of the material world were, for the first time, all at once presented to his astonished sight.

“Is it not incumbent upon us, to divest ourselves of that careless unobservant apathy, which is generated by a familiar intercourse with the most wonderful objects, and to contemplate the monuments of divine benevolence and power, as being, what indeed they are, the objects of continually renewed admiration and gratitude? The same Almighty hand, which first launched into measureless space the system we inhabit, still guides and controls it in its course. *He upholdeth all things by the word of his power.* By his permission, nay, rather by his continued energy, the sun gives his light, and the earth sends forth her flowers and fruits. It is He that watereth the hills from his chambers, and feedeth the fowls of the air, and gives to the lilies of the field their raiment of inimitable lustre.”—pp. 98—102.

We are tempted to introduce the whole of the note with which the Bishop has thought proper to illustrate this remark, as well on account of the splendid passage he has given from Cicero,

which must be always read with pleasure again and again, as for the sake of the fine stanza from Gresset, which we thank him for having introduced to us.

“P. 101. *In order to appreciate, &c.*] The splendid version of a passage in some treatise of Aristotle, which Cicero has given in his second book *De Natura Deorum*, s. 37, often as it has been quoted, will bear repetition here. ‘*Si essent qui sub terra semper habitavissent bonis et illustribus domiciliis, quæ essent ornata signis atque picturis, instructaque rebus his omnibus, quibus abundant hi, qui beati putantur; nec tamen exissent unquam supra terram, acceperissent autem fama et auditione, esse quoddam numen et vim Deorum; deinde aliquo tempore patefactis terræ faucibus, ex illis abditis sedibus evadere in hæc loca, quæ nos incolimus, atque exire potuissent; cum repente terram, et maria cœlumque vidissent, nubium magnitudinem ventorumque vim cognovissent, aspexissentque solem, ejusque tum magnitudinem pulcritudinemque, tum etiam efficientiam cognovissent, quod is diem efficeret, toto cœlo luce diffusa; cum autem terras nox opacasset, tum cœlum totum cernerent astris distinctum et ornatum, lunæque luminum varietatem tum crescentis, tum senescentis, eorumque omnium ortus et occasus, atque in omni æternitate ratos immobilesque cursus; hæc cum viderent, profecto et esse Deos, et hæc tanta opera Deorum esse arbitrarentur.*’ But the observation of Cicero, which immediately follows this translation, or rather, as we may safely conclude, this paraphrase of Aristotle, is more applicable to the supposition in the text. ‘*Nos autem tenebras cogitemus tantas, quantæ quondam eruptioni Ætnæorum ignium finitimas regiones obscuravisse dicuntur, ut per biduum nemo hominem homo agnosceret; cum autem tertio die sol illuxisset, tum ut revixisse orbi viderentur. Quid si hoc idem ex æternis tenebris contingeret, ut subito lucem aspiiceremus; quænam species cœli videretur? Sed assiduitate quotidiana, et consuetudine oculorum, adsuescunt animi, neque admirantur, neque requirunt rationes earum rerum quas semper vident: perinde quasi novitas nos magis quam magnitudo rerum debeat ad inquirendas causas excitare.*’ The goodness of the Creator in his visible works is, perhaps, most sensibly perceived, and most justly appreciated, by him who has just recovered from a tedious illness: ‘*tanquam bona valetudo jucundior est eis, qui e gravi morbo recreati sunt, quam qui nunquam ægro corpore fuerunt, sic ea omnia desiderata magis, quam assidue percepta delectant.*’ *Cic. ad Quint. Post Redit. 4.* I will add the beautiful lines of Gresset, which are but feebly imitated by Gray.

‘ Sans doute que le Dieu, qui nous rend l'existence,
 A l'heureuse convalescence
 Pour de nouveaux plaisirs donne de nouveaux sens;
 Les plus simples objets, le chant d'une fauvette,
 Le matin d'un beau jour, la verdure des bois,
 La fraîcheur d'une violette,
 Mille spectacles, qu'autrefois
 On voyoit avec nonchalance,
 Transportent aujourd'hui, présentent des appas
 Inconnus à l'indifférence,
 Et que la foule ne voit pas.’ —pp. 439, 440.

“ See the wretch who long has tost
On the thorny bed of pain,
At length repair his vigour lost,
And breathe and walk again :
The meanest floweret of the vale,
The simplest note that swells the gale,
The common sun, the air, the skies,
To him are opening Paradise.”

We have added the stanza from Gray for the sake of the comparison. Our readers will perceive that the pious thought of the French poet at the commencement of the stanza is omitted by Gray, and in this respect we must allow it loses much in the comparison; and if we do not agree with the Bishop in his remark upon the *feebleness of the imitation*, it is, perhaps, because we think that the English language is so much better adapted for lyrical poetry than that of the French, and that Gray was a greater master of the art than any poet of that nation. Gresset was an author of the last century, in early life a Jesuit, and the author of a poem called *Vert-Vert*, which, making a great sensation, was the cause of his quitting the Society. He died 1777. The stanza above quoted is contained in an epistle to his sister, and is acknowledged by Gray himself to have been the foundation of his fragment.

We recommend strongly to our readers of every description, the two Sermons upon the aids and gifts of the Holy Spirit, not only as containing a clear and able statement of those great branches of this Christian Doctrine so highly important, and yet so liable to be misunderstood; but also as embracing several other interesting topics connected with the subject, upon which, much valuable information is collected, and considerable light is thrown. Amongst the latter is the question respecting the time at which the power of working miracles in the Church of Christ ceased. Upon this subject, the author has bestowed considerable pains, examining it carefully, both on the ground of testimony and of reason,—and though we have lately had occasion to discuss the matter at some length, in our notice of Bishop Kaye's Work, it will not be uninteresting to pursue the subject a little further, and particularly to inquire by what process the author has arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. Kaye, and thus added weight to an opinion already sanctioned by his authority.

Respecting the historical testimonies usually adduced from the early Fathers, Papias, Irenæus, and Origen, which are known to most of our readers, we must be content to express our opinion that they are here examined and applied with great fairness and precision, and to acquiesce in the conclusion quoted from Bishop

Douglas, that these testimonies prove little as to the continuance of miracles beyond the Apostolic age. It is however to the reasons which may be urged in support of this conclusion, by arguments drawn from the attributes of the Deity, and from his known dealings with his creatures that we wish to direct the attention of our readers, and for this purpose, we shall quote at length the latter part of the Bishop's note.

" Dr. Barrow's opinion was, that miraculous powers were of longer continuance in the Church ; and that although ' the frequent performance of such works among them, in whom faith, by abundance of other competent means, may be produced and confirmed, unto whom also the first miracles are virtually present, by the help of history and good reason, is indeed no wise necessary, nor perhaps would be convenient ;' yet in the conversion of heathen infidels, pious and zealous persons ' would be enabled to perform whatever miraculous works should conduce to that purpose.' (Vol. IV. p. 467, ed. Oxf.) A supposition which takes for granted, first, that the conversion of such heathens, in any given instance, is as necessary to the accomplishment of the divine purposes in the Gospel, as it was at the first preaching of Christianity ; and secondly, that there are no other means, short of miracles, by which such conversion can be effected. In this opinion Archbishop Tillotson also concurs, Serm. Vol. III. p. 247 ; but it is not justified by experience, nor warranted by the necessity of the case. I do not understand why *any* unbeliever may not require a miracle to prove the truth of Christianity now, as well as an unenlightened heathen. If it be said, that the former is qualified to understand and appreciate the force of its historical evidences, but not the latter, who needs some simpler and more immediate demonstration of its truth ; I answer, this proves the necessity of a certain degree of civilization, but not of a miracle. Who is to determine the exact degree of information which shall render miraculous proofs unnecessary ?

" This very ignorance, on the part of uncivilized heathens, has been urged by others, as an argument to show that miracles are *not* necessary for their conversion. ' Acosta, inquiring into the cause, why miracles are not wrought by the present missionaries for the conversion of heathen nations, as they were by the Christians of the primitive ages, gives this as one reason, because the Christians were at first ignorant men, and the Gentiles learned ; but now, on the contrary, all the learning in the world is employed for the defence of the Gospel, and there is nothing but ignorance to oppose it ; and there can be no need of further miracles in behalf of so good a cause, against so weak adversaries.' (Quoted by Dr. Jenkin, Reasonableness of Christianity, Vol. II. p. 493.) And the truth of this observation will appear from considering, that the Gospel could not possibly have been established in the first instance, by those who were employed as instruments in that work, without miracles : but that now, there being abundant evidence of its truth, accessible to those who are to a certain point instructed, it is possible to convert the heathen, under the ordinary influences of God's Holy Spirit, by preparing

their understandings to comprehend that evidence : and it is acknowledged on all hands, that we are not to expect that God will accomplish, by special and extraordinary interposition, that which can be effected by the instrumentality of ordinary means.

“ The Gospel dispensation is undoubtedly progressive ; a grain of mustard seed growing, by degrees, to the largest of all trees : and we cannot, as believers in Providence, entertain any doubt, but that all the features of God's government of the world have some reference to its growth and diffusion ; that since its truth has been once firmly established, and remains for ever capable of moral demonstration, there is, as far as we can judge, no occasion for a special interference to effect one solitary step in that great work of conversion, to which all the changes and workings of human affairs are silently tending ; and the opportunities and seasons for which it is the part of Christian piety to watch for, and to improve. Christianity was the great nurse and restorer of civilization ; and in return, civilization paves the way for Christianity : but be it remembered, that it is no high degree of civilization which is required, to open the understandings of the most barbarous tribe, to a view of their own sinfulness, and of God's anger against unholiness, and consequently of the necessity of some atonement. And it is a truth, which ought never to be lost sight of by those who are interested in the work of conversion, that many may be brought to *feel* the truth of the Gospel, before they are qualified, in the common acceptation of the term, to *understand* it ; an observation of no less importance to him, who preaches that Gospel to unenlightened people in a Christian land, than to him who is sent to instruct the heathen.

“ It is remarked by Pascal, (quoted by the Bishop of Lincoln, p. 96.) that the Apostles could not urge, in its full force, as a proof of the truth of Christianity to the heathen, the fulfilment of prophecy, because a most important part of that fulfilment was to consist in the conversion of the heathen themselves : that miracles were therefore required to convince them : but that now, prophecy accomplished is a continually subsisting miracle. St. Peter speaks of *the word of prophecy* as being *more sure* than the visible glory of Jesus at his transfiguration, and the audible voice from heaven which declared him to be *the beloved Son of God*. (2 Pet. i. 19.) If, then, prophecy fulfilled be a more indubitable proof of the truth of Christianity than miracles, (not but that prophecy itself is a great miracle,) and if it be also a proof, of which it is by no means difficult for a common understanding to apprehend the force ; it is plain that miracles have not been required for the proof of Christianity, since the testimony of prophecy became historically complete.”—Vol. i. pp. 434—437.

On reviewing this passage, it appears to us that the Bishop has satisfactorily answered the argument of Dr. Barrow and Archbishop Tillotson, in favour of a continuance of miraculous powers beyond the Apostolic age ; and that the observation of Acosta, as quoted by Dr. Jenkins, enforced by the subsequent sensible reasoning of the author upon the benefits mutually

conferred upon each other by Christianity and civilization, accounts sufficiently for the cessation of miracles at the close of the Apostolic age,—and although we are much more interested in the fact itself and much more competent judges of it, than of the reasons which moved the Divine counsels so to determine it, yet we allow that the latter is a proper subject for the exercise of the human faculties; especially, when it is considered that the question in most of its branches, is one in which we are at issue with the Papists, who claim a pre-eminence for their Church upon the very ground of a continued exercise in it, both of miracles and of prophecy even to the present day.

To the argument, however, quoted from Pascal, as well as to the reasoning of the Bishop founded upon it, we are inclined, though with some degree of diffidence, to demur. It seems to us to be scarcely applicable to the case, to place the matter upon a wrong footing, and, if admitted, to prove far too much for the Bishop's own conclusion. The substance of it seems to be this, that the advantage accruing to the preachers of Christianity in our own times, from the completion of prophecy by the conversion of the Gentiles, an advantage which the Apostles had not, is so far a compensation to them for the withdrawing of the power of working miracles possessed by the Apostles, as to render this power no longer necessary. But if these two things were really thus dependent upon each other, it would be reasonable to expect, that the time determined by God for the withdrawing of the one, would nearly, if not precisely, coincide with that of his conferring the other. But his Lordship contends, that the power of working miracles was withdrawn from the Church at the close of the first century, while the conversion of the Gentiles, as a completion of the prophecy, could scarcely be said to have taken place till the age of Constantine; and thus we have two centuries of great difficulty and trial and triumph to the Christian cause, in which the Church, enjoying neither the power of miracles, nor the evidence in question from prophecy, was yet able to extend its influence and conquest more rapidly and more permanently than at any other period, since this accession, has decidedly taken place. It is plain, therefore, that we are to look for other causes to account for this progress.

But passing over these early times, we cannot see how the argument accounts satisfactorily for the state of things now; since whatever comfort may be derived to the preacher himself from the fulfilment of this prophecy, (and great no doubt it is,) it is difficult to comprehend how he is to make it tell with any proportionate effect upon the minds of the ignorant and unlettered, least of all, upon the Heathen, who are the subjects of it,

and whose conversion constitutes the very difficulty we are to solve. Of all the branches of Christian evidence, prophecy is that which is the farthest removed from popular apprehension. Miracles approve themselves to the senses of mankind, with a force almost equally acknowledged by the learned and the unlearned—and brutally ignorant must he be by whom the internal evidence of Christianity, its beauty and excellence and mercy cannot be in some measure understood and felt. But prophecy stands upon a different footing; though radiant with light and truth to the learned, it is a lamp shining in a dark place to the great majority of Christians, and to the unlettered, little better than a blank. Its materials are expressed for the most part in figurative language, dispersed in fragments over the whole surface of the sacred volume, and are only to be interpreted by a reference to each other, and to a system; while the conviction of their fulfilment must be sought in the history of the world at large, by a laborious comparison of dates and passages, to which few have the means, and still fewer the leisure and the perseverance to attend.

His Lordship indeed says, that this difficulty shows the necessity of a certain degree of civilization, but not of a miracle. In this we entirely agree, and the observation carries with it a useful lesson to all who are engaged in missionary labours; but it is not enough for Monsieur Pascal's argument, which requires a great degree of civilization to support it; and if missionaries were to refrain from applying other motives till their converts were able to profit by the evidence from a prophecy, of which they are the subjects, the work of conversion would make but little progress.

Further the Bishop enforces the argument of Pascal, on the ground of the superiority of prophecy over miracles, supposed to be asserted in the well-known passage of the second Epistle of St. Peter; but not to insist upon the opinion of many eminent commentators, that no comparison whatever is here intended between prophecy and miracles, we may be still permitted to contend, that this advantage can never be adequately felt by ignorant men, and that at all events an extension of the Christian evidence on the side in which it is the least understood, cannot be in any degree a compensation for the loss in that of miracles, the most obvious, palpable, and convincing.—Nor has such been the persuasion of practical men, at any period of the Church. When the Apostles applied themselves to their countrymen, they urged indeed in the Synagogues the evidence of prophecy, and proved from the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ; but when they turned to the Gentiles, they drew their arguments from other

sources, from the benevolence and the power of God as displayed in the universe, from the admonitions of conscience, and from the consequences of a judgment to come; and though the apologists of Christianity in the times which succeeded, unwisely, perhaps, laid greater stress on prophecy than miracles, their arguments, it must be remembered, were addressed, not to ignorant, but to enlightened Heathens, and were so shaped because the proof from miracles was met by the imputation of magic; and if we look to modern times we shall have reason to believe, that few as have been the converts to Christianity, which have been made from the Heathen by missionary labours, they would have been much fewer if the good and pious men, who have undertaken the work, had been content to insist upon this advantage to the exclusion of, or even in preference to other topics, which the Scripture evidence can supply, and which the case so clearly demands.

The fact seems to be this:—as God at present imparts to different persons of the same age different opportunities of spiritual knowledge and improvement, so also he has given to different people and different ages, different measures and degrees of evidence, according as his wisdom may have directed, and the circumstances of their case may have required. Of this the best account to be given is, that the Judge of all the earth will infallibly do right, an observation in which all good men will agree; but looking back to the facts which history presents to us, we may venture to conjecture thus far with regard to the argument in question. In the commencement of the Christian era God sent forth the Apostles with the demonstration of the spirit and of power, to convert the Gentiles and to bring them to the knowledge of his Son; and nobly did the effects produced answer to the miraculous means employed; the work proceeded with a force and a rapidity which mocked all human resistance, and were utterly disproportioned to the human energies engaged; and if he has now withdrawn the exercise of this power from their successors, as he undoubtedly has, it is not because he has supplied the place of it with any other adequate aid, but because the same effects, the same rapid growth and progress were not necessary to the Divine appointment. Having once established the Church upon a foundation which cannot be shaken, he has committed its future support and propagation to human agents under the ordinary influence of the Spirit—and has left us this miraculous Conversion of the Gentiles, standing alone incomparable and inimitable in the records of the world—a striking monument of his wisdom, and benevolence, and power—calculated not only by the completion of a remarkable prophecy to confirm our faith and to elevate our hopes, but by its contrast with the pigmy efforts of

human learning, and exertion in the same field, to impress us with a due sense of our own weakness and of our entire dependence upon God. Mean while the Divine command remains firm and constant—"Go ye into all the world and teach all nations"—and still it is the will of God that not one of these little ones should perish. Under this impression it is our duty, whose lamps have been lighted at the Holy flame, to extend its brightness with all the means and all the energies we can command—to remember that the slowness with which it now proceeds, so far from being a reason for an abandonment of the sacred cause, ought to be the strongest motive for our additional exertions, being convinced that all things in the world are now tending to a state which must give permanence and facility to the sacred work, looking patiently yet fervently to the time when all the kingdoms of the world shall be the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ, and considering it as a privilege and a benefit to co-operate with heaven in the diffusion of a blessing which, while it offers salvation to others, may greatly contribute to our own.

We have been anxious to record our opinion of this passage from Pascal, because, notwithstanding the acknowledged talents and piety of the author, and the signal services he has rendered to the Christian cause, he is not always to be depended upon for the correctness of his reasoning; least of all in his *Pensées* which is placed with so little reserve and such usually strong approbation in the hands of our English youth. Although generally keen, clear-sighted, and sagacious, he is yet extremely bigoted and credulous, wherever Popery and the Port Royal are at stake; and withal so violent a partizan that his hatred of the Jesuits sometimes seems to warp his judgment and get the better of his love of truth. Add to this, that the work in question besides its being posthumous and not prepared for publication by himself, has something in the very form of it, that of aphorisms, calculated to excite mistrust—for dealing as it does in a variety of detached thoughts and fancies, which are considered separately, generally under one aspect, and pushed rapidly to their consequences without any single object to preserve them in harmony with each other, one cannot wonder that he is sometimes betrayed into contradictions and inconsistencies. And this is particularly the case with respect to Miracles. In the Aphorism quoted by the Bishop he concludes against the necessity of Miracles at the present day. In another he not only vindicates the pre-eminence of the Catholic Religion on account of its possessing exclusively this power down to his own times, but is exceedingly indignant at the Jesuits, because they refused to believe in the Miracles performed at the Port Royal by a spine from the true Cross of our Lord, expressly

to support the honour of the society.* In a third he declares, that Miracles speak for themselves: in a fourth, that Miracles are to be judged by the Doctrine. These are obscure spots amongst a number of splendid passages of sterling worth, and we mention them only as a salutary warning against an implicit confidence in all that he delivers, particularly in controversial matters where his own feelings and prejudices are concerned.

We have already alluded to the Farewell Sermon, and we shall close our extracts with a few passages from that discourse, which indicate strongly the kind of influence and communion formerly subsisting between the Bishop and his flock. Such expressions could not well be made use of from the pulpit, unless his hearers were convinced that feelings corresponding to them really existed in the preacher's mind—they could not be heard without deep interest and attention; nor can any one doubt for a moment that they are of a character to reflect the highest credit upon any minister who could sincerely entertain and be strongly actuated by them.

"But the theme of our preaching, the basis of our arguments, the ornament of our eloquence, must be Christ—Christ crucified. We tell you that you may come to God, but it must be through Christ; that you may obey him and please him, but only in Christ; that he has promised to abide in you, but only as you abide in Christ; that you may perform works which are good and acceptable to him; but good only as they are the fruits and tokens of faith in Christ, and acceptable only as Christ has purchased their acceptance by the infinite merits of his own obedience and death. I do not advise you to usurp the office of judge over those whom you are commanded to honour and obey; nor ought you to be offended with the peculiarities of those preachers of the Gospel, whose mode of instruction may be unsuited to your judgment or your taste; but I cannot desire you to resign yourselves to the guidance of those who do not preach Christ and him crucified. Let no man deprive you of that sure and certain anchor of the soul, that sole foundation of your hopes, as a responsible sinful being, that only real source of strength in this life, and of hope in another. What is the language of

* "Ceux qui ne nient ni Dieu, ni Jesus Christ, ne font point de miracles qui ne soient sûrs—mais nous n'avons point à faire ce discernement—voici une relique sacrée—voici une épine de la couronne du Sauveur du monde, en qui le Prince de ce monde n'a point de puissance, qui fait des miracles par la propre puissance de ce sang répandu pour nous—Dieu choisit lui-même cette maison pour y faire éclater sa puissance.

"Ce ne sont point des hommes qui font ces miracles par une vertu inconnue et douteuse, qui nous oblige à un difficile discernement—C'est Dieu même; c'est l'instrument de la passion de son Fils unique qui, étant en plusieurs lieux, a choisi celui-ci, et fait venir de tous cotés les hommes pour y recevoir ces soulagemens miraculeux dans leurs langueurs.

"La dureté des Jésuites surpasse donc celle des Juifs, parcequ'ils ne refusaient de croire Jésus Christ innocent, que parcequ'ils doutoient si ces miracles étoient de Dieu. —Au lieu que les Jésuites ne pouvant douter que les miracles de Port Royal, ne soient de Dieu, ils ne laissent pas de donter encore de l'innocence de cette maison."

the great Apostle? *I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ. We preach Christ crucified. I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ and him crucified. In the sight of God speak we in Christ. We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake. Christ in you the hope of glory, whom we preach.*

"It is the consideration of Christ crucified, the thought of what he has suffered, and of the object for which he suffered it, which alone can give seriousness and earnestness to a preacher of the Gospel, and which constitutes the sacredness and dearness of that spiritual relationship, which binds a faithful pastor to his flock. What a constraining, what an overpowering motive have we to watchfulness and diligence in the duties of our holy calling, in the consideration that *the Church of God*, which we are appointed to feed, *he purchased with his own blood*. The redemption, for which he paid so dear a price, is offered freely to all men. All are called into his fold out of a wicked world. *It is not the will of my Father which is in heaven, that one of these little ones should perish*. It is our province and duty to repeat and enforce the call—to urge and persuade you by every argument and motive—by reason, by intreaty, by rebuke, by encouragement, by example—to make a personal application to yourselves of the benefits of redemption: *as ambassadors for Christ we pray you, in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God*. If by reason of our ignorance, or apathy, or negligence, one soul be lost of those whom Jesus died to save, have we not the sinfulness of our fault and the fearfulness of its punishment already recorded in the sentence of the eternal judge? *Whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were drowned in the depths of the sea*.

"Under a sense of that awful truth, my brethren, although I have laboured amongst you and watched over you with an anxiety and affection which nothing could have inspired but the thought, that the people committed to my charge were the sheep of Christ, 'which he bought with his death, and for whom he shed his blood;' I have oftentimes been overwhelmed with apprehension lest, by my carelessness or error, the salvation of any should have been placed in jeopardy, and a soul lost to its Saviour! Would that I could with confidence speak to you in the language of St. Paul; *I take you to record this day, that I am pure from the blood of all men*: as I can truly say with reference to my intentions and designs, *I have not shunned to declare to you the whole counsel of God*. Ye know from the first day that I came among you, how I have kept back nothing that was profitable to you, but have shewed and taught you; testifying repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ, and how we exhorted, and comforted, and charged every one of you, as a father doth his children, that ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you unto his kingdom and glory.

"And this brings me to consider, in few words, the encouragement which we have to a zealous perseverance in the duties of our ministry; not only the encouragement which every faithful servant of the Lord derives from the consciousness, that he is working the works of him

that sent him, but that which flows from a belief, that we are really instrumental in saving the souls of them that hear us; that our preaching and example are, by the blessing of God, effectual to the great ends of the Christian ministry. This is the joy of which the Apostle speaks, as the exceeding present recompense of faithful pastors; *obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy and not with grief.* And to the Thessalonians—*For what is our hope, or joy, or crown of rejoicing? Are not even ye in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming? for ye are our glory and joy.* May I not, without boasting, apply these words, in a qualified sense, to you, my Christian friends? May I not speak, without incurring the reproach of self-commendation, of the comfort and encouragement which I have found in perceiving that my labours have not been altogether in vain? May I not *thank God without ceasing, because when ye received the word of God which ye heard of us, ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which effectually worketh in you that believe?* that it has not returned altogether void? that my instructions have been in some degree blessed by him, who alone can give the increase to the growth of faith and charity amongst those of whom it might truly be said, with reference to their appointed shepherd, *the sheep hear his voice, and he calleth his own sheep by name, and leadeth them out, and goeth before them; and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice.*"—pp. 407—431.

"And now in the presence of him, to whom we must all ere long give account—I, as *having been allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel* for your good, and you, for the improvement which you have made of the opportunities afforded to you—let me acknowledge with thankfulness the comfort and support which I have experienced in your diligent and regular attendance upon my ministry; your increased and increasing obedience to the last request of a crucified Saviour; your ready and free co-operation with me in every scheme of charity, by which, as the Apostle said, *ye have shown before the churches the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf; and your zeal hath provoked very many.* If such a return for earnest though imperfect endeavours to promote your eternal welfare, has created a bond of affection, which no change of circumstances can or ought to destroy, I have great reason to be thankful to him, whose servant I am, that the still more important station in his household to which I have been called, does not cause a final and total separation between us; but leaves it still a part of my duty, as it must ever be my delight, to watch over your welfare, not merely as members of that Christian Church, of which I am a minister and a ruler, but as the inhabitants of a parish, the spiritual interests of which are placed by the laws more exclusively under my personal care and jurisdiction."—pp. 415, 416.

We cannot conclude our observations without recommending to our more educated readers the small but interesting and judicious collection of Notes in the Appendix, which cannot fail of furnishing abundant matter for their consideration and inquiry,

There they will find discussed with great moderation, clearness, and good sense, many topics which though not of the first necessity, are yet very interesting and important in the Christian scheme. There also they will discover from what sources many just and striking observations which take their place quietly in the text, and give strength and clearness to the arguments, have been derived; and they will learn further what is not obvious to all, that many salutary truths which flowing easily and orderly from the well-digested stores of an intelligent mind, become clear and obvious to ordinary men, are yet often the fruit of much of previous study, reflection, and arrangement, on the part of the person who propounds them.

ART. VIII.—*Practical Theology; comprizing Discourses on the Liturgy and Principles of the United Church of England and Ireland; Critical and other Tracts; and a Speech delivered in the House of Peers, in the Year 1824.* By John Jebb, D. D. F. R. S. Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert and Aghadoe. London: Duncan, and Cochran. 1830. 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s.

No Work which has recently fallen into our hands more amply fulfils the promise of its title than that now before us. Bishop Jebb has already acquired considerable reputation as a Preacher; but hitherto he is more prominently known to the reading Public as a man of Letters and of taste; of sound, ripe and extensive scholarship, and nice critical sagacity; who has devoted his abilities and attainments to the successful cultivation of a very elegant branch of Sacred Literature. He now comes forward as a teacher of "Practical Theology:" and the pretensions asserted in these two important words are redeemed by him to the uttermost. In his present volumes, all the stores of a very wide and excursive reading; of a Fancy richly fraught with glowing and varied imagery, yet sobered by a judgment keen in observation, unremitting in vigilance, and discriminating in choice; of a pen commanding an easy, flowing and copious diction, and skilled to convey Truth in strong and simple but most attractive periods, are consecrated, not to the service of speculative Divinity, but to the Religion of actual life. All Bishop Jebb's views are directed to the social improvement of our nature. The Benevolence which every page encourages, on Christian motives, is not that idle and dreaming spirit which spends and exhausts itself in the unavailing struggles of an impossible and latitudinarian Philanthropy; but it is an ardent and active Virtue, sowing, not for flowers only, but for fruits; an labouring successfully in every scheme which

Man has it really in his power to effect for the good of his brother. So too the Piety which is inculcated is not the fierce, rapid, useless, and uncontrollable blaze of enthusiasm. It is a mild and gentle, yet bright and fervid flame, warming, cheering, enriching, fructifying, invigorating, and illuminating all that is gathered round it: and withal so tempered and assuaged, so chastened and restrained, that it never menaces from the best of servants to become the worst of masters; to overpower the hand by which it is fed, and to involve those who have permitted themselves to relax under its influence in a wide-wasting conflagration. We might continue similar remarks on the whole range of Christian Graces which it is the object of these Discourses to explain and to enforce—all are brought home to the understanding and to the affections; and the hopes, the consolations, the warnings and the terrors of our Faith, the evidence of things unseen, the mysteries of the Spiritual world, are arrayed and marshalled as so many assistants to the soundness of our Practice.

Many of the pieces contained in these volumes have been printed separately before. The first comprises sixteen Sermons and the Bishop's Primary Charge. The opening Sermon is a plain exposition of the Parable of the Sower. The four which follow next are on the Liturgy, and present an admirable exposition of the History and excellences of that finest of all uninspired compositions. The following may be accepted as a specimen of the Bishop's general mode of application. After a rapid view of the method in which our Liturgy was framed, he proceeds:—

“ In its formation, it has been happily, and doubtless providentially, guarded, alike from excess and from deficiency. It possesses a peculiar temperament, equally remote from all extremes, and harmoniously blending all excellencies: it is not superstitious, it is not fanatical, it is not cold and formal, it is not rapturous and violent; but it unites, perhaps beyond any other human composition, sublime truth and pure spirit; the calmest wisdom, and the most energetic devotion. Under various trying circumstances, it has been so signally and repeatedly preserved, that we cannot doubt it is continued to us, for some greater purpose than it has hitherto effected. While the very memory of many contending parties that threatened its destruction has nearly passed away, it remains uninjured and unaltered; giving us to conjecture that it is reserved for still nobler, more extended, and more enduring triumphs. And amongst these there is one triumph in which we are, every one of us, deeply interested; its triumph, namely, over all the evils of our own hearts, and all the serious unhappiness of our own lives. From year to year, and from week to week, we have listened to and joined in the use of this form of sound words. Have you, my brethren, ever yet deliberately and affectionately pondered on the deep spiritual meaning of

the prayers, and praises and thanksgivings, in which you are thus accustomed to participate? Have you ever seriously endeavoured to carry the spirit of our Liturgy into your common habits of life? Are you prepared to say that you fully understand, or deeply feel, or cordially relish, or consistently act upon, the principles and feelings which are inculcated in our public service? Can you satisfy your own hearts and consciences that the pure, the holy, the heavenly spirit which our Liturgy uniformly breathes, has even yet begun to live in your affections, to rule in your families, to regulate your conduct, to make you holy and happy, at peace with your fellow-creatures, and in humble but cheerful communion with your God? These are the effects which assuredly should follow, from a right participation of our established worship. If they have yet been imperfectly produced, let us not despair: we have a God to approach who is our Father and our friend; who is life, and light, and love; who can raise his fallen creatures from the death of sin; who can enlighten the darkness of our understandings; and who can graft in our hearts the love of his own adorable perfections. He can make that clear, and affecting, and divinely efficacious, which before was comparatively obscure, uninteresting, and of little discernible effect. With the most unreserved dependence on his aid then I would intreat you to give your minds to the future consideration of our Liturgy; and that not as a matter of curiosity and speculation, but as a serious and solemn duty of religion, for which we are all accountable in the sight of God. The consequences may be of infinite importance, if we engage in this inquiry with singleness and simplicity, and docility of heart. We may then be enabled to behold, in a new and happy light, our duties and our blessings; all that we are called to realize, in this world, of holiness, purity and peace; all that we are destined to possess, in the world to come, of joy and glory. It is our bounden duty then, and we should feel it our highest privilege, to pray with the spirit and the understanding; to worship God in spirit and in truth."—vol. i. pp. 31—33.

In the IVth Discourse, on Morning and Evening Prayer, we meet with a remark which is wholly new to us; and yet which is so natural and so just, that its occurrence here for the first time strikes us, when it has been once admitted, with no little surprise. It is a notice of the distinction in tone and character between the two Services, each being peculiarly adapted to the particular season of the day at which it is celebrated. In the morning an air of "holy activity" is spread over our devotions. In the evening, "homefelt happiness, heavenly benignity, and contemplative rest," find an appropriate place. These feelings, says Bishop Jebb, are distinctly marked in the selection of the two Evening Hymns—that of The Virgin and of Symeon—and again in the choice of the Collects. The two remaining Sermons on the Liturgy consider the Sacramental Offices. The urgent necessity of adhering in after life to *our* part of the Baptismal Covenant, if we seek to preserve and profit by the regeneration which the Sacrament

conveys to us, is earnestly impressed in the first; and we are taught to remember, "in the language of our Church and of Holy Scripture, that the remission of Sins is not notional but real; that it is not merely to be laid hold of, outwardly, by a strong effort of the understanding, but to be inwardly known and felt, by the convincing evidence of a clean heart and a renewed spirit." The following Discourse, with equal clearness, explains the preparation required for those who would fitly partake in the Supper of the Lord, and the efficacy of the Grace which it imparts to worthy recipients.

The VIIth Discourse was preached first at an Ordination in 1810, and afterwards as an Act exercise for the degree of D.D. in 1821: and we are heartily glad to receive so high a sanction as that of Bishop Jebb for the repetition of a Sermon. There is scarcely any department of our Religion to which the Preacher is not in duty bound very frequently to recur. It is to be presumed that whenever he writes at all he writes his *best*; and why we may ask, in order to gratify itching ears in their prurient love of variety, is he to run the hazard of substituting an inferior composition, solely because it is new, for one well weighed and rightly and carefully divided, which is to be rejected solely because it is old? The prejudice which enjoins a contrary practice has chiefly arisen not among devout hearers, but among pragmatical note-takers. The subject of this Sermon, from St. Matthew xxviii, 18, 19, 20, is the Divine Government of the Church, and the course of argument is finely directed to the following eloquent character of the founders of our own Establishment.

"Of this reformation, the fairest portion is, by the blessing of God, our providential birthright. And in this place, and on this occasion, I cannot forego the gratification of paying an humble tribute of duty and affection to our venerable parent, the Church of England.

"The pious founders of our national establishment both deeply pondered and sincerely loved a principle, which in literature, in politics, in morals and religion, is far above all price; and which should be engraven on the hearts and consciences of all Christian philosophers, statesmen, and divines; the principle, namely, that TO INNOVATE, IS NOT TO REFORM. They had not attained that improvident recklessness of consequences which would reject essential good, because accompanied with accidental evil; which would cast away the gold of Christian antiquity, though easily separable from the adscititious dross of later times. They were not prepared to desert the adamant foundation which was laid by the Apostles and Prophets; or the superstructure of gold, silver, and precious stones, which was raised by the Catholic Bishops and Fathers, merely because some wood, hay, and stubble had been added by workmen of inferior note. Deeply versed in all knowledge, human and divine, they could not at once unlearn all the lessons that were entwined

with their dearest recollections, that were associated with their brightest prospects; all that had made their youth innocent and joyous; all that made their age venerated and venerable; all that enabled them to look forward with complacency and comfort to the last great earthly change. Adorers of God's special providence, they could not consign to oblivion, as superfluous and superannuated, those documents of most remote antiquity, that 'precious life-blood of so many master-spirits,' which, amidst the revolutions of ages, had been providentially 'embalmed and treasured up, on purpose to a life beyond life.' They felt, that as the universal consent of all men, in all ages, is allowed to be the voice of nature, so the unanimous concurrence of councils, churches, bishops, and fathers, ought to be received as the voice of the Gospel. Therefore, when they came to reform abuses, they adopted as their motto and their principle, that golden decision of the Council of Nice, *LET ANCIENT USAGES PREVAIL.*"—vol. i. pp. 135—137.

Discourses VIII. IX. X. and XI. were preached for different Charities, XII. the End of all Things, and XIII. Living Waters, are remarkable specimens, (the first of them especially,) of the judicious application to Christian purposes of that profane literature which Sectarians have so much decried. Much must it shock those simple spirits who believe that God has greater need of human ignorance than of human learning, to find their Pastor drawing his illustrations from Pagan fountains. The Bishop, indeed, with his usual good taste, has abstained from any pompous reference to authorities, any Mosaique work of direct citation, in the body of his Discourse—but his Notes bear rich testimony to his acquaintance with all "physic of the Soul." The devout hater of Letters, who, little suspecting his accordance of principle with the Infidel Caliph, would burn the Vatican if it were in his possession, and send the contents of the Bodleian to light the fires at the Hummums, will shudder to read such Heathen names appended to a Sermon, as those of Marcus Antoninus, Aristotle, Epicharmus, Plutarch, Euripides, Lucretius, Æschylus, Seneca, and Epictetus. We are not quite sure that he will tolerate St. Basil, St. Gregory, or St. Chrysostom, for Greek and Latin, he thinks, are the Mothers of all Heresy. John Howe, as a Non-conformist, might be admitted, were he not unhappily the most moderate, the most learned and the most polite of his Body. Lord Bacon was a layman and a Philosopher: South, Tillotson, and Butler were staunch friends of Liturgies and Surplices; and finally Young, though in other respects sufficiently hoarse, gloomy, and barytonous; and Parnell, an author of lighter vein, who is the last authority used by Bishop Jebb, were no better than—Poets!

The XIVth Discourse, like the VIIth, is probably one which has been elaborated by its author with more than common diligence, and it exhibits a happy union of critical research

with practical application. It is too often the case that Divines forget the possibility of combining strong meat and food for babes in one; a lesson, it might be thought, to be learned from almost every word which flowed from the lips of our Saviour. We have Sermons for the lettered and Sermons for the unlettered tied up in different bundles; as if the Christian edifice consisted of two detached and separate stories inhabited by distinct classes, and were not, in truth, a platform, on which all mankind, as far as the knowledge of things Spiritual is concerned, meet on one, great, common level. We cannot be supposed to mean that there are not some portions of Biblical inquiry which the Minister will do wisely to reserve for the meditation of his closet, or for discussion with those whom long habits of study have familiarized with matters, for the correct treatment of which, study is absolutely necessary. But we are fully convinced, and we need only take this Sermon of Bishop Jebb with us as a voucher, that many things, which are now reputed strictly esoteric, may be simply and distinctly exhibited to popular apprehension and edification. Such was not the primary intention of the Discourse which we are about to consider; and therefore, as this merit is incidental to it, it affords great additional strength to our position. It was preached before a congregation consisting exclusively of men of Learning, as an Act exercise for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. A philological difficulty was very properly chosen as its subject. This difficulty is narrowly sifted and examined to the uttermost, with such instruments as none but a practised scholar can produce from the fulness of his well-assorted armoury. Yet so nicely is it touched, so discreetly is it handled, that even an uneducated person, provided he will give his teacher due credit for laying the truth before him in those parts on which himself is manifestly incompetent to pass judgment, may understand and be convinced by the critical argument conveyed in the first half; and cannot fail to be improved and advanced in the school of Christ by the conclusions to which he is led at its close.

The text of this Discourse is taken from St. John, v. 39, *Search the Scriptures*—and the Preacher's first object is to establish the more correct rendering, *Ye search the Scriptures*. In ordinary hands, this attempt would have produced little more than a display of Grammatical refinement; and the result with most hearers would, probably, have been, that the confidence in our received version, so much to be desired and so richly deserved, would have been shaken; and that a familiar text, of obvious, easy and very useful application, would have been deprived of its present virtue, without the substitution of one no less powerful in its

stead. Bishop Jebb, on the contrary, has established his premiss not only without deducing from it these baneful consequences, but with an enhancement of the value of a passage upon which he has thrown new light.

It is scarcely necessary to state that ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς is an ambiguous construction, which the Fathers and early Ecclesiastical writers, with almost one consent, have understood as we find it in our authorized version. To take two passages only, which we have at hand, St. Chrysostom, in his xxivth Homily on Genesis, specially inculcates from these words the necessity of profound addiction to the study of Holy writ—and there is so much truth, and, it may be added, so much beauty in his expressions, that we must indulge ourselves by transcribing them:—
 ἡ γὰρ τῶν θείων λογίων φύσις καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις ῥήμασι πολὺν ἐπιδείκνυται τῶν νοημάτων τὸν πλοῦτον, καὶ ἄφατον χαρίζεται τὸν θησαυρὸν, τοῖς μὲτ' ἀκριθείας τὴν ἔρευναν πιδιεῖσθαι βουλομένοις. Δι' ὃ δὴ παρακαλῶ, μὴδὲν ἀπλῶς παρατρέχωμεν τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ κειμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀνομάτων κατάλογος ἧ, καὶ ἰσορίας διήγησις, τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀνιχνεύωμεν θησαυρὸν· διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔλεγεν, Ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφὰς· ἐπεὶ οὐ πανταχοῦ ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς ἐστὶν εὑρεῖν τὸν νοῦν τῶν ἐγγεγραμμένων, ἀλλὰ χρεῖα καὶ πολλῆς ἐρεύνης ἡμῖν, ὥς μὴδὲν ἡμᾶς λαθεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ κειμένων. (*ad init.*) So too St. Augustin, more briefly, in his *Enarratio ad Psalmum cviii*. *Scrutari enim jussit (Christus) Scripturas quæ testimonium perhibent de illo, non in superficie pertransiri*. We may remark, by the way, that the emphatical sense ascribed by both these writers to ἐρευνᾶν—*attento animo scrutari*—of which Bishop Jebb, as we shall see by and by, makes an important use, is borne out by the parallel employment of the same word in St. John, vii. 32, ἐρεύνησον καὶ ἴδε ὅτι προφῆτης ἐκ τῆς Γαλιλαίας οὐκ ἐγήγερται; and also in 1 St. Peter, i. 11, ἐρευνῶντες εἰς τίνα ἢ ποῖον καιρὸν ἐδόξα τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ. St. Chrysostom, by his using ἀνιχνεύωμεν as explanatory of this word, has evidently reverted to the true Homeric sense of *tracking by footsteps*, (*Il. Σ. 321, Od. T. 436.*) Le Clerc has pushed the meaning yet farther. He imagines that the Chaldee spoken by our Saviour was ܠܚܕ, which implies to *hunt out an allegorical interpretation*, a well known favourite pursuit of the Rabbies, for the display of their doctrinal skill. If this be the force of ἐρευνᾶτε, little doubt can remain that the Indicative, not the Imperative, is found in the text of St. John. Our Saviour could never have approved or enjoined the Cabbalistical trifling and idle ingenuity of the *Gematria*, the *Notaricon*, or the *Temurah*: and he must have pointed to the practice of the Doctors of the Law, without any design to recommend it.

Omitting this argument, (which indeed must depend wholly

upon the truth of Le Clerc's conjecture,) Bishop Jebb has successfully advocated the *assertive* force of the verb, on other grounds. Of the early Christian writers, he informs us, that Nonnus and Cyril are his sole supporters in this view of it; that the mediæval commentators and the great mass of Reformed Interpreters are against him; and that it is only among the more recent critics that the contrary interpretation has prevailed. We believe, however, that before this interpretation was adopted by Lightfoot, it had been espoused by Beza, Piscator, and Camero. The reasons by which these several holy and learned men were guided, in believing ἐπευῶνται to be Imperative, are displayed in the following masterly summary.

“ In venturing to coincide with this rendering and explanation, I am far from intending disrespect to the writings of the Fathers. For the most part they were men of great ability. And, after a manly institution in the porch of human literature, they fixed their permanent abode in the temple of the Scriptures. “ Their delight was in the law of the Lord : and in his law did they meditate day and night.” And the result is manifest in their labours. They mastered the meaning, while they imbibed the spirit, of both Testaments. They defined the boundaries, while they defended both the outworks and the citadel of the Christian faith. Triumphant in controversy, they were unrivalled in exhortation : for every good purpose, whether of defence or attack, whether of reproof, advice or consolation, the words of truth stood ready at their call ; and perhaps it might be scarcely an exaggeration to say, that if all existing copies of the Scripture were destroyed, the sacred volume could be restored from the writings of the Fathers. But their fertility in popular instruction, and their familiarity with the words of Scripture, were by no means favourable to exactness of interpretation. In all the weightier matters of religion, indeed, in all express statements of the Catholic truths of Christianity, they carefully respected the analogy of faith : but in lesser points, and where the Christian verity was secure, they did not scruple to apply those passages, with which their memory was richly stored, in a manner not strictly accordant with the principles of a sounder criticism. Their use and their abuse of allegorical interpretation are too notorious to be dwelt upon : and indeed it is more within my present limits to observe, that, in the ardour of practical exhortation, they were apt to urge upon their hearers detached portions of Holy Writ, without cautiously adverting to the bearings of the context ; a practice which had a considerable, though to themselves, probably, an imperceptible influence on their more continued and more elaborate commentaries. The present text may furnish an example. If taken imperatively, it would supply a pithy and forcible topic of popular address : if taken indicatively, its independent force, its hortatory strength, was gone ; and, however unquestionable its value and importance were, in union with its proper context, it could no more be urged as an awakening call ; it could no more be sounded in the ears of every Christian congregation as the voice and the command of Christ

himself. Here then the judgment had by no means an open field; the ground was pre-occupied by a moral inclination, the more strong, because, in all likelihood, wholly unsuspected, to determine on one side, and without any close scrutiny, the meaning of these ambiguous words. How the Fathers determined, we already know; and why they so determined, we have, perhaps, offered no improbable conjecture.

"Again, when the great religious movement of the sixteenth century brought the Scriptures into light; when, instead of being smothered, they were searched, and when, by numerous and faithful versions, the people were reinstated in that sacred birthright, of which they had been so long and so shamefully defrauded, it cannot be denied that controversy sometimes took the lead of impartial exposition. The new division of the Bible into verses, while it facilitated reference, became a hindrance to the course of just interpretation. The flow of many an important argument was broken and interrupted, while favourite texts, like insulated rocks, were continually seen to raise their heads above the stream. The maxim, that a good textuary is a good theologian, universally prevailed; and, by each contending party, short sentences of Scripture were fluently and plausibly alleged, while the context was too commonly disregarded, and parallel places were scarcely, if at all, examined and compared. And here, again, the words of our text may be adduced as an example. That dark tyrannical decree, which wrested the Scriptures from the hands of the laity, was justly reprobated by the first Reformers. Their zeal naturally broke forth in argument: and an argumentative spirit is not commonly disposed, nor, if it were disposed, has it frequently sufficient leisure, to adjust the balance of conflicting evidence. 'Search the Scriptures' appeared, with much probability, to stand on the face of the Greek Testament; with equal probability it was thought to stand on the face of the Latin Vulgate; for there, as in the Greek, the words are of uncertain import. In a season of calm reflection, further inquiry might have seemed expedient; but was it to be looked for, during the fervour of an agonistic conflict? It does not appear that such inquiry was instituted; nor, under the existing circumstances, can the omission be just matter either of surprise or censure. 'Search the Scriptures' accordingly became a religious watchword; and the interpretation which threatened to deprive the controversialist of this advantage was of course regarded with a jealous eye. But a season of reflection soon arrived. It was seen that zealous Roman Catholics interpreted the phrase as an injunction; it was seen that equally zealous Protestants viewed it as a simple affirmation. Good sense indicated that the question was critical, not controversial; and the result has been, that, from an early period of the last century, the best expositors of the Lutheran, the Reformed, and the Anglican Churches, are agreed in opinion, that the general tenor of our Lord's expostulation, the special bearing of the immediate context, and the known rules of justly-ordered composition, oblige us to understand and interpret the disputed words, indicatively,—'Ye search the Scriptures.'"—vol. i. pp. 287—292.

The objections against the corrected rendering are then answered; 1st, that which, derived from a false Grammatical Canon,

carries indeed with it its own refutation; namely, "that in the Indicative mood, whenever the second person plural of the present Tense, begins a sentence, unpreceded by a pronoun or by some particle, that sentence must be understood interrogatively; and that if, as in the present case, a question be not intended, the verb must then be read imperatively." 2dly, that from an equally false Critical Canon, "that wherever the sense is doubtful and dependent on the meaning affixed to some particular word, that meaning ought to be preferred which best agrees with the analogy of Faith and which most conduces to edification." In the instance before us, as the Bishop shows, the analogy of Faith is wholly unconcerned—and the Canon itself is fallible and dangerous, being capable of modification at each interpreter's individual pleasure. 3dly, that ἐρευνᾶτε is emphatic, and that our Lord would not have attributed accurate investigation of the Scriptures to the Jewish people of his times. We have sufficiently shown, above, our conviction that it is emphatic; and Bishop Jebb also sanctions this conviction "after much consideration." He goes on to prove that the class of Jews whom our Lord addressed were in truth most diligent and accurate Searchers of the Scriptures, especially of the Prophecies relating to the Messiah. That to such persons, therefore, any injunction to commence an inquiry in which they were already profoundly versed, would have been needless and insulting. Again, the affirmative sense is necessary in order to connect the two clauses of the sentence, "Search the Scriptures, *for* in them ye think ye have eternal life." How, it may be asked, could they think that they had eternal life in the Scriptures, unless they had already searched them? and if they had done so, what need for the injunction?

We must omit the remaining strong and able arguments whereon the Bishop most satisfactorily establishes the version which he approves—for we are most anxious to extract the whole of his inestimable application, and thus to justify the statement with which we commenced, that even from a branch at first sight presenting only the thorns of criticism, he is skilled to extract the honey of sweet counsel.

"The meaning thus established will, I hope, not be found deficient in practical results of the most important and most edifying character. From the case of the Jews, we may learn how possible it is not only to read the Scriptures, but to read them with attention, with diligence, and even with some degree of lively interest, and at the same time to reap no other fruit from this study than heightened responsibility and aggravated condemnation. And at the present day this lesson would seem to be particularly seasonable. For, on the one hand, from a zeal

very sincere, but not very considerate, the Scriptures are circulated in such a manner as, unintentionally, I am sure, but still effectually, to countenance the notion, that the mere perusal, I had almost said the bare possession, of the Sacred Volume, may be available for the attainment of eternal life; whilst, on the other hand, we find melancholy proof, that the Bibles indiscriminately scattered through the land, may be rendered instrumental to the most wicked and infernal purposes. The volume of Scripture is now in every hand. And men without faith, without hope, without charity, without God in the world, are labouring to convert that volume into the text-book of anarchy and atheism. The book, the chapter, and the verse, are unblushingly referred to, whence a disastrous and diabolical chymistry extracts the poison of blasphemy and unbelief. The shops, the markets, the stalls, the very courts of justice, are saturated with those materials of destruction temporal and eternal. And at such a time, and amidst such a deluge of unnatural impiety, the people ought to be set upon their guard. They ought to be instructed how possible it is to read the Scriptures, not only without edification, but with moral and spiritual detriment. They ought to be made sensible, that the word of God, if it prove not a savour of life unto life, may become a savour of death unto death. They ought to be warned, in the same spirit, and almost in the same words, with which our blessed Saviour warned the Jews of old: 'Take heed how ye hear,' was his solemn admonition; and from every pulpit in this nation, and by every minister of God's holy word, I could wish to hear pronounced the seasonable, salutary warning,—*Beware how ye read!*

"But it is not merely by the illiterate vulgar that the Scriptures may be unprofitably and dangerously read. In the last age, those infidels who called themselves philosophical, were notoriously and avowedly unversed in the pages of inspiration. But in the present day it often happens, that philosophical infidels are also philological divines. Men, daily and elaborately conversant with the sacred text, aware of its difficulties, not altogether insensible to its beauties, and prepared, with some skill and much pretension, to assail Scripture from Scripture, truth from truth, revelation from revelation. The unbelievers of the last age were content to borrow the materials of their baseless system from the schools of Democritus and Pyrrho; but those materials have been exhausted, and that system found untenable. Their successors accordingly, with more effrontery, and, in one division of Europe, with greater success, have betaken themselves at once to the study and perversion of the Scriptures. And though this be an unconscious tribute to the supremacy of that volume, which cannot be assailed from without itself, it is still a melancholy spectacle to see the chairs of foreign universities filled with professors who, by every art of shallow but imposing criticism, attempt to undermine that faith which they have solemnly promised to maintain and to defend. From such deadly apostacy, notwithstanding the intrusion from abroad of much anti-Christian theology, we of this favoured and religious empire are yet happily preserved. The lips of our priests still keep knowledge; our pulpits still proclaim the words of unsophisticated truth; our universities still train up the youth

of these countries in the faith of their fathers, and still send forth a clergy learned in the Scriptures, and conscientiously attached to the principles of our Catholic and Apostolic Church. How long we may enjoy these blessings, it rests with inscrutable Wisdom to determine. But of this we may remain assured, that such blessings can be individually enjoyed so far only as we are individually prepared for their enjoyment, by the cultivation of piety in our hearts, humility in our minds, moderation in our tempers, and teachableness in all our intellectual pursuits.

“One word of practical admonition still remains. The text of this discourse may not, and, as I think, does not, directly enjoin us to search the Scriptures. But reason, revelation, and our own consciences, may, and must abundantly assure us, that if we neglect the study of the Sacred Volume, or if we pursue that study from improper motives, in an improper manner, and to an improper end, we shall be held awfully responsible at the last day; and the terrors of that day, who amongst us is prepared, wilfully and fearlessly, to encounter? I do not, therefore, merely tell you, in the vague indefinite language of too many modern religionists, to read the Scriptures; but I exhort you to pray for grace, in the words of our primitive and venerable Church, that you may ‘*in such wise* hear them, read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest them, that by patience and comfort of God’s holy Word, you may embrace, and ever hold fast, the blessed hope of everlasting life.’”—vol. i. pp. 303—307.

We would willingly dwell on some of the following Sermons, the XVth, Cornelius—XVIth, Triumph of the Gospel. But we have yet much to do, for we are not a little desirous to show that on certain leading points, in the consideration of which we have often been engaged, we are allied with the high authority of Bishop Jebb in the same good cause.

The IInd Volume contains Six Discourses—a Divinity Treatise which obtained the first of Dr. Downe’s Prizes distributed at Trinity College, Dublin, in 1797; A Speech from the Chair of the Historical Society in 1798; A Letter on Clerical Amusements; the Homilies considered in a Letter to Dr. Elrington; and a Speech in the House of Peers delivered in 1824, on the Third reading of the Irish Tithe-Composition Bill. The last-named production will, probably, be fresh in the memory of most of our readers, as the fullest and ablest defence which has been offered of—we will not wrong the Establishment by saying the Church of Ireland—but, to use Bishop Jebb’s own more correct style, that portion of the United Church of England and Ireland—one in doctrine, discipline, government, and worship—which belongs to the Sister Kingdom.

The 1st of the Discourses, Delight in the Divine Law, was preached in 1803 for the Association incorporated for discountenancing Vice and promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the

Christian Religion; and it was originally published by the desire of the Earl of Hardwicke, at that time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. One principal object of this Institution was the dissemination of the Scriptures among the Poor, so that "no house, no cabin in the whole Kingdom, in which there is a single person who can read, shall be destitute of the Holy Scriptures." The limits which sound discretion will assign to this comprehensive scheme are well stated in a brief Note.

"This declaration requires to be qualified. As a *final attainment*, the object should never be relinquished. But, in the first instance, the probability, at least, should be ascertained, that, wherever the Scriptures are given, they will be reverently received, and piously employed. Otherwise, we may be found acting in opposition to that injunction of our blessed Lord, St. Matt. vii. 6."—vol. ii. pp. 29, 30.

The following supplementary Note is yet more pointed; and we do not know whether most to express our respect for the soundness of its principle, or for the gentleness of tone in which that principle is conveyed. The avowal is not a little important, for it evinces the steadiness of the Bishop's sentiments during the lapse of seven-and-twenty years, on a question which has been hotly disputed.

"Since this discourse was composed, many years have elapsed; and great revolutions have taken place: the machinery, so to speak, for disseminating the Scriptures, is altogether new; and religious movements, on a scale unprecedented in past ages, are of daily occurrence. Yet, the writer is unaware, that (with one exception already noticed) he wishes materially to alter a single expression, employed by him in 1803.

"The truth is, that, on conscientious grounds, he has been unable to join in any of the favourite religious objects of the present day.

"On the other hand, he never has engaged in hostile opposition to them; from a conviction, that, whatever may be their more immediate effect, they have been providentially permitted, and will be ultimately over-ruled, for some beneficial purpose to the Church of Christ.

"Meantime, it has been his humble effort, unostentatiously to co-operate, with the wise and good, of past, as well as present times. And he hopes, that, while obliged to dissent, in practice, from many excellent individuals, he is, in spirit, united with them, as a joint aspirant, after heaven's eternal rest."—vol. ii. pp. 70, 71.

All the remaining Discourses are occasional. II. The Cheerfulness of Christian Worship, preached on the opening of the Dublin Female Orphan House, in 1818. III. Early Religious Training, for the same Charity in 1822. IV. The Christian at Antioch, for the London Philanthropic Society in 1824. V. The Death of the Righteous, at the Funeral of the Reverend W. D. Hoare; and VI. The Pastoral Office, at the Primary Visitation

of the present Archbishop of Cashel, containing a well merited tribute to the memory of his predecessor Archbishop Brodrick. We pass on from these Discourses, any one of which might afford us ample materials for an entire Review, to the palmary Letter on the Homilies. It seems that the Association for discountenancing Vice, of which Bishop Jebb was a Committee-man, had decided that they would not distribute the Homilies as a catechetical premium to children. This decision was by no means agreeable to some Members of that Society; and the following opinion in opposition to it was strongly expressed by Dean Graves, before a Committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the system of Education in Ireland.

“ Q. Do not the Clergymen of the Church of England subscribe to the doctrines of the Homilies, as well as the Articles of Religion ?

“ A. Most undoubtedly.

“ Q. Do you conceive yourself, that any authority, be it what it may, or where it may, that pronounced the Homilies of the Church of England unfit for any member of the Church of England, is a proper authority to determine what other works may be of a heterodox or sectarian description, or too warm, as you stated ?

“ A. I consider, that any person offering that opinion committed a great error upon that; and I should disregard his judgment upon other things.”—vol. ii. pp. 283, 284.

The gauntlet was here thrown down, and Bishop Jebb was not backward in taking it up. Agreeing with him, as we do most cordially, in the entire course and in every particular of his argument, that argument will not require any comment from us. We shall simply endeavour to convey a summary of it to our readers; with no small regret that the narrowness of our limits forbids the employment of the Bishop's own language.

The Bishop proposes to consider,

“ I. The kind and degree of authority given, by the Church of England, to the Book of Homilies: and,

“ II. The eligibility of distributing those books at the present day, among children, as catechetical premiums; especially in a Country circumstanced as Ireland is.”—vol. ii. p. 285.

For the first, he shows that no subscription to the Homilies is ever required from a Clergyman; and consequently that in this respect they are widely distinguished from the Liturgy and the Articles of Religion. Next, that it was the deliberate and set purpose of the Elizabethan Reformers to establish such a distinction; and this is shown by a comparative view of the two Articles (xi. xxxv.) in which mention is made of the Homilies; as those Articles were originally framed under Edward VI. and as they were afterwards altered under Elizabeth. A rapid History of the

rise of the Homilies is then given, in order to manifest that they were no more than a temporary expedient to supply a temporary want—the lack of sufficient preachers. Those who know the value and importance of names, and how continually the human mind permits the substitution of the symbols of things for things themselves, will not be displeased by the following correction of an ordinary mistake.

“It is not unusual to style these formularies, ‘The Homilies of the Church of England.’ This title is unsanctioned. The proper one is ‘Sermons or Homilies appointed to be read in churches, in the time of Queen Elizabeth of famous memory.’ The misnomer is, by no means, trivial in its consequences. The former title seems to recognize the Homilies, as authoritative documents of our Church: the latter styles them, as they should be styled, *Sermons, to be read*; NOT *authorities to be alleged and deferred to*.—vol. ii. p. 293.

The sum of the argument on the first position stands as below.

“In the best and purest ages, from the Reformation downward, of the English Church, the Homilies were regarded but as plain discourses: well suited, at the time when they were set forth, for the instruction of the people, in places where, from want of ability or want of licence, sermons could not be preached by the officiating ministers: and that the notion of accounting those discourses to be *authoritative* Church-documents, and *rules or standards of belief*, is a perfect novelty,—introduced by sectaries, who thought, but thought erroneously, that their own peculiar sentiment might derive a sanction, from those venerable, but, in some respects, obsolete formularies.”—vol. ii. 303.

The Bishop next proceeds to consider the eligibility of distributing the Homilies as catechetical premiums to children in Ireland. He willingly admits the great merit of many of these compositions; their admirable adaptation to the times in which they were written; the light they throw upon the doctrines of the Reformation; the passages which they contain, full of manly, nervous and unaffected eloquence; the thorough acquaintance with human nature which they exhibit. So that he would recommend *many parts* of the Homilies as good models of plain, popular and effective teaching. But it by no means follows “that in this our day they are fitted for the indiscriminate perusal of Ministers and people, of educated and uneducated, of old and young, of males and females:” and any one who reflects upon the difference in habits, thoughts and manner of expression produced in a Country by a lapse of three centuries, will not be slow in discovering that the Homilies are at present inapplicable to their original purpose, and unprofitable as a system of Pulpit instruction. *A fortiori* if they cannot properly be read by Clergymen to their

flocks, much less can they be proper for indiscriminate reading by the people themselves.

“So much respecting the unfitness of the Homilies, for a premium-book to children, unlimitedly, in Ireland, England, Scotland, or the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Other arguments, I might have stated: I might have urged their antiquated phraseology; their use, particularly puzzling to children, of the old version of the Bible; their wearisome length; their frequent want of intelligibility, and their almost unvarying want of interest, to the youthful mind:—all this, and much more, I might have urged; but I prefer resting my case, on a single, and, as I think, irrefragable argument; in the fullest conviction of the strength and truth of which, I solemnly declare, that, as matter of conscience, I could on no account, be instrumental, in any degree, towards placing in the hands of any young person, but especially a young female, the Book of Homilies, as a manual of instruction. It remains, then, to redeem the pledge implied in stating our second head of inquiry, that I say a few words, and a few words will suffice, respecting the ineligibility of the Homilies, as a book to be thus given, among *Irish children in particular*.

Let it then be considered, how largely these discourses enter into the *popish controversy*. I do not mean to say that the youth of our Church should not be guarded against the errors of the Church of Rome. Far otherwise. In a Charge to the Diocese of Limerick, I formerly said, that ‘ours is a substantive religion, and that we must not compromise or compliment it away.’ The pamphlet is not now at hand, but I give the substance of the words correctly; and what I then expressed with my whole heart, I would not express less energetically now. But I do not think the *controversial* mode, the *best* mode, of bringing up children in the deep, serious, practical, heartfelt love, of our true reformed Christianity.—And I question, whether the early disputant on debated points, may not, in riper years, be the most likely to waver or apostatize. The habit of argumentation is certainly not friendly to settlement of opinion; and he was a wise man, who invented, and bequeathed that maxim to posterity, — *DISPUTANDI PRURITUS ECCLESiarum SCABIES*. But the Homilies are not only *controversial*, they are often *vituperative*; this, again, might be, in a great degree, the habit of the age: words might not mean all, in the lips of the Reformers, which they mean in the present day: and, at the worst, *they* might be allowed to scold a little, who had to deal with adversaries, that employed, as their most cogent arguments, the stake, the faggot, and the flame. But our business lies not with the Reformers; we must look to ourselves. And, as Members of the Association for Discountenancing Vice, we must take heed, lest we at once infringe the fundamental rules of our society, and the yet more important, because sacred, rules of Christian charity. We are founders of schools, which indifferently admit children of our Church, and children of the Church of Rome: and in selecting, disseminating, and recommending, books for schools of this mixed character, it has been our rule carefully to exclude whatever might wound the feelings of either communion. This is, in truth, no more or less,

than a rule of Christian charity. For, where young people are so brought together, every thing that might induce rancour, or jealousy, or heart burning, or ill-will, ought to be systematically kept away. Otherwise, while communicating knowledge we shall instill mutual dislike; and while telling children that they must love God above all things, and their neighbour as themselves, we shall practically teach them, for the love of God, to hate their neighbour. Far be it from me to insinuate, that the Homilies teach any such doctrine: the reverse is decidedly the fact. But, let any one suppose a child of our establishment, to have received as a premium, a copy of the Homilies; let us suppose that child, (as might, and as, probably, must happen,) to show the book to a Roman Catholic school-fellow; let them jointly open the book at any one of the innumerable passages, in which the Church of Rome is characterized, and let us figure to ourselves the consequences."—vol. ii. pp. 313—316.

Here we must close. The impression left upon us by the perusal of these volumes is that of most unfeigned respect and admiration for their venerable and accomplished author. If a man's writings are to be accepted as a picture of his mind, we know not one of our contemporaries whom we more wish to resemble than Bishop Jebb—*Homo perbenevolus, et in omnibus vitæ partibus moderatus et temperans, plenus pudoris, plenus officii, plenus Religionis*.

ART. IX.—*Sermons on some of the most Interesting Subjects in Theology*. By the Rev. George Townsend, M.A. Prebendary of Durham, and Vicar of Northallerton. London. Rivingtons, 1830. pp. 486.

AN Epistle Dedicatory prefixed to this volume commences by informing us that Mr. Townsend and the anonymous young Clergyman whom he addresses are agreed on the general principles of pulpit eloquence, but have not been able to come to an understanding upon one particular point. "The only matter of difference in opinion between us, (says Mr. Townsend,) respected the possibility of so preaching the morality of the Gospel, as not to lose sight of its peculiar doctrines, and so enforcing the doctrines which are peculiar to Christianity as not to lose sight of the moral and practical inferences to be deduced from them:" that is to say, Mr. Townsend's friend has denied the possibility of preaching both faith and morals, and Mr. Townsend undertakes to refute this error; first, in his Dedication by sound argument, and secondly, in his Sermons by an unexceptionable example. His success in both instances is complete. The chief difficulty, indeed, in the case, must have been to find out the adversary whom he proposes to vanquish. As the "Young Clergyman" is not

permitted to speak for himself, no hint has been given respecting the line of reasoning by which, in his frequent conversations with Mr. Townsend, he endeavoured to show, that faith and morals could not be inculcated in one and the same discourse. Nor have we been able by the best exertion of our diligence and sagacity to discover that such reasoning has ever been put forward, or to imagine what shape it would assume.

We are aware of course, that a charge of not preaching the doctrines of the Gospel has been frequently preferred on the one hand, and that a similar charge respecting morality has been retorted on the other. But these mutual accusations, whether true or false, have assumed the possibility of uniting both species of instruction, as a notorious and undisputed truth. And we should doubt whether any individual in his senses could have ventured to deny it, had not Mr. Townsend vouched for the existence of one such person, in the instance of his anonymous friend. For the illumination and edification of this somewhat eccentric gentleman, the author proceeds to establish his own very correct opinion upon the question in dispute between them. With this object in view he first describes the faults of the "Evangelical Preacher."

"The faults of the Evangelical teachers are, that they render Christianity repulsive to men of sober judgments, and refined taste, by enforcing the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel in an obscure and unusual phraseology, which is neither consistent with a right interpretation of Scripture, nor with sound and strict reasoning. If they would enforce, for instance, the doctrine of the corruption of human nature, they use language which would lead their hearers to infer that we are demons in malignity and wickedness—whereas we are represented in Scripture, and the truth is confirmed by experience, to be only fallen men, inclined to evil rather than to good, but capable of restoration to the favour of God, which a demon cannot be. If they would deny the merit of good works, they sometimes speak so incautiously that they seem to represent good works as unnecessary; and they do this by confounding the doctrine of the Reformers, who denied the meritorious nature of penances, pilgrimages, and similar works, with the doctrine of the Antinomians, who deny the merit of repentance, and obedience: whereas, while the former class of good works are utterly useless, as the proofs of true faith, the latter are so essential, that without them faith has no existence. If they teach the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit, they interpret some passages of Scripture so inconsiderately, that a hearer of their own modes of expression would imagine the Deity to be a capricious, or arbitrary Being, instead of being governed by laws as just, and certain, in His conduct towards His accountable spirits, as He ordinarily proceeds by certain and immutable laws, in His regulation of the material universe. They too often separate passages of Scripture from those which precede and follow them, to enforce the probable truth of opinions, to which the pas-

sages which they quote have no reference. They too often insist on some one truth, to the exclusion of others—as the foreknowledge of God, to the exclusion of so much free will on the part of man, as renders him a responsible being. They speak with too much familiarity of the love of God, of the Holy Spirit, and of the atonement of our Saviour. They do not sufficiently represent the episcopal clergy as the only authorized teachers. They sometimes speak of the salvation of the soul, as if that salvation depended upon the decrees of the Almighty, and not upon the acceptance of that mercy which the Almighty decreed to be the means of salvation. They do not seem sufficiently to value the sacraments, nor the institutions of the Church. The language of their devotion is mysterious, and almost unintelligible: as when they inquire of their hearers, whether they feel that they have an interest in Christ; by which, and similar phrases, they mean to inquire, whether the belief which their hearers profess in the truth of the doctrines of Revelation, has so influenced their conduct, and their hearts, that they are conscious of having endeavoured to remove wilful evil, and have begun to derive consolation and happiness, under the sorrows of the present life, and in the anticipation of the future. One of the most strenuous advocates of that mode of instruction which is generally called Evangelical, has written an Essay on the aversion of men of taste to Evangelical Religion. If taste be the result of knowledge, cultivation of intellect, and mental refinement, that taste will never be adverse to Scripture, to the Liturgy, to the Articles of the Church, or to the solemn language of those devotional Christian writers, who unite the soundest common sense with the language of the purest religion. The confession that men of taste can be adverse to Evangelical Religion, while they are not adverse to the Volume of Scripture, and the truth of orthodox Christianity, is the severest condemnation of that system of instruction which is generally called Evangelical.”

There is much in this description to which we subscribe, but we doubt whether it be an accurate representation of the preaching of any considerable number of clergymen now alive. It will apply much more correctly to the original Puritans and Nonconformists, or to modern “Evangelical” Dissenters, than to any large body of preachers in the Established Church. We leave it, however to those whom it may concern to point out the exaggerations into which Mr. Townsend may have fallen on this branch of his subject, and proceed to another, in which he has offended far more grievously.

“Such is one class of faults which the Christian clergyman will avoid—but he will be no less anxious, on the other hand, to shun the extremes which too often characterize those whom we must call, for the sake of distinction, the Anti-evangelical preachers.

“The faults of these are no less objectionable; and they may easily be pointed out as being the opposite of those already enumerated. If the Anti-evangelical party, for instance, have occasion to speak of the corruption of human nature, they sometimes use phrases respecting the dignity of man, and the excellence of that moral virtue to which he may

certainly attain, even without the aid of revelation, which would seem to imply that the assistance of the Holy Spirit is not so absolutely essential to perfection, as it is represented to be, both in the Articles of the Church, and in the pages of Scripture. They sometimes confound those moral virtues, which are the result of instinct, society, necessity, and experience (and which are, therefore, practised alike by the heathen and by the infidel, as well as by the Christian), with those higher virtues, which can only be the result of more than human principle. The corruption of human nature consists in this—that the heart of man, and his affections, are alienated from the will of God; and not that he is unable or unwilling to perform the duties which are required by man. The love of children to parents, and of parents to children, are universal duties; but they may be the result of instinct, or natural affection, without any reference to the will of God; and the practice, therefore, of the moral virtues, which are the consequences of this natural affection, does not imply that the nature of man is not alienated from God. The same reasoning will apply to such duties as obedience to magistrates, and many others, which must be practised for the sake of the general happiness. And while these various duties must be all enforced by the Christian teacher, upon Christian principles, and not upon human motives only, the exercise of these virtues from human motives, no more invalidates the doctrine of the alienation of the heart from God, and, therefore, the necessity of the assistance of a divine power, than the bursting forth of a few wild flowers, or a little self-sown wheat, amidst the thorns and thistles of an uncultivated field, can render unnecessary the toil of the sower, or the labour of the reaper.

“The Anti-evangelical preachers have frequently deserved the censure of their brethren, by the incautious manner in which they have spoken of the efficacy of the Sacraments. Baptism, more especially, has been represented to be so absolutely necessary to salvation, and to be attended with blessings so valuable to a Christian, that it would almost appear to be equally essential to future happiness, with faith and good works. They apply those passages in St. Paul's Epistles, which describe the influences of the Holy Spirit, too exclusively to the apostolic age. When they speak of those subjects, which are too frequently discussed in the affected phrasology to which I have alluded, they adopt the very opposite extreme, and use language so cold, and tame, that it would almost seem as if they deemed energy a crime, and the eloquence of enraptured devotion, fanaticism or folly. They only then use (pardon the ungrateful terms) a language which may be called cant, when they declaim against canting language. Scripture is too infrequently quoted. The necessity of spiritual assistance, the one great doctrinal truth of the dispensation under which we live, is insisted upon with too much timidity, as if the divine aids which are afforded to the faithful believer in the atonement, were incompatible with that degree of human liberty, which is essential to the responsibility of a Christian. They study, as they ought to do, severe and strict reasoning, and correct and elegant composition, in their discourses, but they do not sufficiently remember, that all the reasoning of a Christian teacher, is only then useful when it kindles the affections,

as well as instructs the mind. They are contented with appealing to the intellect, rather than to the heart; and their hearers sometimes leave their churches, convinced of a truth, but unmoved as to any practical conviction of its importance, and the necessity of its personal application. The bold appeal, the affecting interrogation, the energetic address, the irresistible persuasion which is founded upon the undeniable solemnities of the truths of Christianity, do not sufficiently characterise the teaching of those, who only seem to be enthusiastic, when they denounce enthusiasm, and who are more anxious to avoid censure, than to attain to excellence.

“The Evangelical preachers are worthy of our imitation, where they frequently insist upon the two principal truths of Christianity, the atonement of our Lord, and the consequent bestowment of the divine assistances of the Holy Spirit. The Anti-evangelical preachers are worthy of our imitation, in maintaining the necessity of outward religion—the authority of the Church over its members—and the peculiar advantages of Episcopacy as the best bond of union to an inquiring people and a divided clergy.”—pp. x.—xiv.

We believe that Mr. Townsend was for many years what he would now style an Anti-evangelical preacher. Were his own discourses during that period composed upon the principles aforesaid? We answer without hesitation, that they were not. Whoever may have sat for the picture which he has been pleased to paint, there is no reason for supposing that he “was himself the great sublime he draws.” Whither then did he resort for an original? He may possibly have met with an indiscreet individual here and there, against whom the charges contained in his Epistle Dedicatory might be preferred with some plausibility. But he undertakes to describe a *party* now existing in the Church. And is there any party by whom “baptism has been represented to be so absolutely necessary to salvation, and to be attended with blessings so valuable to a Christian, that it would almost appear to be equally essential to future happiness with faith and good works.” If there be, let the passages in their writings containing such representations be pointed out. Is there any party in the Church which maintains “the dignity of man?” If there be, let Mr. Townsend denounce them in his “boldest,” most “affecting,” most “energetic,” and most “irresistible” manner. The merits of his peculiar style of preaching will be considered by and bye. But we must say at once, that his essay upon the preaching of others does him very little credit. It is monstrous to pretend that the problem of uniting faith and practice, in the Sermons of a Church of England divine, has been solved for the first time in the volume before us. The author begs his friends’ “acceptance of the following volume of Sermons as an illustration of the truth of a proposition” which was admitted by all men of sound mind ages

before the preacher was born. If Mr. Townsend had contented himself with saying that he had endeavoured to avoid the various and opposite errors into which preachers have occasionally fallen, and to preach the Gospel with sincerity, without attaching himself to any party within the Church, he would have been entitled, whether he succeeded or failed, to the kindest consideration. But he has chosen to denounce the great majority of his brethren as involved in the mazes of error, and to set up his own example as a specimen of superior and extraordinary wisdom. Under these circumstances we see nothing to exempt him from a searching application of the critical fan. Let us begin then with the third Sermon—on the history of Jonah. Mr. Townsend undertakes to show “that all the objections which have been alleged against the account of the prophet Jonah, are derived from the negligence of those who make them, in not considering the history of the period in which the event took place.” And these historical circumstances are described in the following terms:—

“Let us first consider the circumstances which preceded this miraculous event.

“We learn from 2 Kings xiv. 25, that Jonah had predicted the prosperity of the ten tribes of Israel, and that his prophecy had been fully accomplished. We learn also, from the same passage of Scripture, that he lived in that part of the country, which was nearest to their Pagan and idolatrous neighbours. The prophet therefore must have been well known, both to his own countrymen, and to the inhabitants of the neighbouring nations. They must all have been aware that he was one of those extraordinary persons, to whom had been granted the power of foretelling future events. Every thing which such men said, or did, was every where known. Every eye was upon them, every action was scrutinized; Isaiah and Joel were prophesying at the same time in Judah; Hosea and Amos were prophesying in Israel; the five prophets were all raised up together to declare the same judgments of God, and if they acted unworthily of their high calling, the believer grieved, and the idolater rejoiced.

“While Jonah, then, was living in this remote part of the country, and when every eye observed him, he was commanded by the Almighty to go down, and preach to the Ninevites; he was directed to go, and to declare that God was about to destroy the city for its pride, and wickedness. Now the possession of the power to prophesy did not imply obedience to the laws of God. It was in the days of Jonah, as it was in the days of Christ—many possessed the miraculous gifts, who were not the faithful followers of Christ. Our Saviour tells us, that in the day of judgment many shall say, *in thy name we have done many wonderful works*, that is, we have wrought many miracles; but the answer will be, *depart from me, for I never knew you*; and our conviction tells us, that we all have a clear knowledge of God, but that our obedience seldom corresponds with it. So it was with the prophets of old: they had the

power to prophesy, and they were commanded to do so : but they might resist the Spirit of God, and refuse to obey. Jonah was commanded to go and preach against Nineveh ; but that city was many leagues distant ; the journey was long and dangerous ; the people were licentious and cruel. He might be afraid of persecution, if they did not repent at his preaching ; and if they did repent, God might pardon them for a time, and he would then be deemed a false prophet. All these motives acted upon the prophet, and he therefore resolved to disobey the positive command of God. He determined to forsake his country altogether, and to hide himself in a foreign land. With this intent he went down to Joppa, a place at some distance from his own province, to take refuge in Tarshish, in Cilicia, where he might remain unknown and unnoticed, till the day of his death.

“ Here we must pause, to consider the nature of that idolatry which was established among the nations which surrounded Israel, and especially the idolatry which was established at Joppa. It is best described by St. Paul :—*They changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.* Some worshipped the forms of the sun and moon ; others the star of their god Remphan ; some the image of a calf, and others the beetle and the serpent. The idolatry of Joppa was of another kind—Joppa was a city of the Philistines, and was the principal sea-port among that people—the name of the idol which they worshipped was Dagon, and it was represented under the form of a large fish ; and this god, this idol-god, was supposed to be the protector of all those who sailed upon the ocean. The idolaters believed that every city, and people, and country, was under the protection of some particular deity. They did not deny that Jehovah was the God of Israel, but they believed that he was the god of that country only ; and they believed, on the same principle, that Dagon was the God of Joppa, and that both were equal. The opinion therefore which these idolatrous people would have formed of the conduct of the prophet Jonah would have been this—that he had fled from the protection of his own God, and placed himself under the protection of another god, even of their own dumb idol. They would interpret his conduct to be the acknowledging the power of their idol to be so great, that he would be able to protect the prophet who was endeavouring to escape from the God of Israel. It was the first time in the history of the world, that a commissioned prophet of the One true God had attempted to disobey an express and specific command of his Creator, by endeavouring to flee out of the land of Israel. If Jonah, therefore, had made his escape in safety, the idolaters would have been confirmed in their belief, that their own dumb idol was equal in power to the God of Israel ; and deep would have been the grief of the religious Israelites, and loud would have been the rejoicing of the idolaters, if they had seen the timid prophet withdraw from the presence of Jehovah, refuse to obey Him, place himself under the protection of an idol, and then escape in safety.

“ Such were the circumstances which preceded the miracle related in this text.”—pp. 40—44.

We request the reader to compare this full and particular account of Jonah with the very brief mention of him contained in Scripture. The Sacred Historian seems not to have been aware of many interesting facts brought to light by Mr. Townsend—The latter informs us that the men of Joppa were well acquainted with Jonah; knew that he had fled from Jehovah, and supposed that he had placed himself under the protection of their idol Dagon. When the storm arose and the lot fell upon Jonah, the sailors “*said unto him, Tell us, we pray thee, for whose cause this evil is upon us? What is thine occupation and whence camest thou? What is thy country and of what people art thou?*” —Jonah, i, 8. This does not look very like Mr. Townsend’s story. The men of Joppa neither knew that Jonah was a prophet nor even that he was a Hebrew. He might evidently have escaped to Tarshish without any individual at Joppa making the observations or drawing the inferences suggested by our author. To place the discrepancy between him and the sacred writer in a clearer light, we transcribe the two following verses—“*And he said unto them, I am an Hebrew, and I fear the Lord the God of heaven, which hath made the sea and the dry land. Then were the men exceedingly afraid, and said unto him, Why hast thou done this? For the men knew that he had fled from the presence of the Lord* BECAUSE HE HAD TOLD THEM SO.” And he told them so in consequence of the tempest, which had been sent, according to Mr. Townsend, in order to prevent the men of Joppa from thinking that Jonah, with whom they were very well acquainted, could disobey his well-known God with impunity and worship their Idol in safety.

But this is not all. The imagination of Mr. Townsend presents us with the following picture of the effects of Jonah’s preservation.

“The effect of the miracle upon the sailors of the ship in which the prophet had sailed, is fully related in the book of Jonah; they became the worshippers of Jehovah, they forsook the worship of their idol, the god of Joppa, and sacrificed to the God of Israel, and offered their vows to Him. What the consequence of the miraculous preservation of Jonah might have been upon the people of Joppa, is not mentioned in Scripture; we may, however, believe that it was no less effective than it had been upon the mariners. The inspired narrative tells us, that the fish cast forth Jonah upon the dry land. The sea was calm, and the shore of their country was so low and shallow, that a large fish could approach to it with difficulty, yet they behold, by some superhuman power, that a large fish, the form of the god they worshipped, was thrown far up upon their coast,—they gather round it, they perceive a living man come forth from its mouth, they inquire who he is, and from whence he came; the repentant Jonah could inform them—‘I am a prophet of the God of

Israel, I forsook the service of my God, who has in mercy granted you time for repentance, and who calls upon you to turn from your worship of idols to serve Him. The God of Israel has proved His power over your idol god, by commanding him to preserve me, and by then permitting your god to perish before his own temples in the presence of you, its own worshippers, on the sea-shore. See there your dumb and dying deity. He cannot deliver you, you are unable to save and deliver him. The Lord Jehovah is God, the God of Israel is the only true God; serve and worship Him, and Him alone.' The mariners would confirm the report of Jonah, that he had been thrown into the sea; and there can be little doubt that the effect of the miracle would have been the same upon the people of Joppa, as it was upon the mariners,—that they sacrificed to the Lord, and vowed vows."—p. 46, 47.

The first sentence in this paragraph is questionable. For that the sailors forsook the worship of the God of Joppa is nowhere stated in Scripture; and at most it is a matter of inference rather than a matter of fact. The remainder is pure fiction. There is not a word, not a letter to authorize it. "*The Lord spake unto the fish and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land,*" is the whole that we know upon the subject, except where the preacher, now under review, has been pleased to make further revelations to mankind.

Yet is Mr. Townsend so well satisfied with this notable attempt to explain a Scripture difficulty, that towards the conclusion of his discourse he makes an 'energetic' address to his hearers, especially to the poor and unlearned, and "assures them that the manner in which this wonderful history of Jonah may be shown to be true, is only a specimen of the mode in which every other obscure part of Scripture may be proved to be true," p. 49; and says that "he has entered upon an exposition of the wonderful narrative of Jonah's preservation that they may see in what manner objections may be answered." We venture to suggest that putting forward statements at variance with Holy Writ is not the best manner in which Scripture may be proved to be true, and that objections will be multiplied rather than answered by such freaks of critical imagination as have been exhibited on this occasion by Mr. Townsend.

But it would be unfair to condemn him for a single offence. Let us proceed therefore to inquire whether he is more circum-spect in the rest of his volume. The fifth Sermon is on the Sanctification of the Sabbath, and in the first division of his discourse the preacher professes to consider "the reasons for our observing the Sabbath." His remarks are as follows—

"Let us first consider the reasons on account of which we are to observe the Sabbath.—Why, it may be said, are we thus to cease from labour one day in seven? We answer, that we are commanded to keep

the Sabbath day holy, as Christians; because on this day each person of the sacred Trinity performed the principal action by which He is revealed to us in Scripture; and by which each Person of the Trinity would prove to us, that we are called upon to render them our equal adoration and praise. On this day God the Father was known by resting from the work of creation—God the Son by the resurrection from the dead—God the Holy Ghost by the miraculous out-pouring of the sacred gifts—and this day, therefore, is set apart that we may remember all that has been done for man by the Father in creation, by the Son in redemption, and by the Holy Spirit in sanctifying the hearts of men.”—p. 67.

In a note in the Appendix Mr. Townsend says—

“I have designedly omitted in this sermon all notice of the question respecting the alteration of the observance of the sabbath from the seventh, to the first day of the week, by the Christian Church. The view which I have taken of the subject did not necessarily lead me to that inquiry, nor is that view affected in any way by the various opinions which are entertained respecting the origin, or obligations, of the Christian Sabbath.”—p. 478.

This piece of reasoning is as singular in its way as the piece of criticism already examined. Mr. Townsend professes to explain “the reasons for ‘our observing the Sabbath,’” and with those reasons the “origin or obligation of the Sabbath” have nothing to do!! An affectation of originality has led the preacher into a strange predicament. In the first place his reasoning, such as it is, does not hold together. For God the Father did not perform his principal action on the Sabbath, but on the six days which preceded the Sabbath, and therefore Mr. Townsend is forced to change the terms of his proposition, and speak in one sentence of the creation and in another of the rest subsequent to the creation. If he could have treated the book of Genesis as he has treated the book of Jonah, and described the creation as the work of the Sabbath, there would, at least, have been coherence in his argument. But he neither has assigned nor can assign any reason for hallowing the day that succeeded the Creation, any more than the day that succeeded the Resurrection, or the day that succeeded the Descent of the Holy Ghost. In the next place, if Mr. Townsend had condescended to tell us that we are bound to hallow one day in seven, because we are required to do so in the Fourth Commandment, or even because such a practice is sanctioned by Apostolic injunction or practice, we should have understood his meaning. But he has not placed the duty upon this or any other secure foundation. It is, according to him, a matter of mere expediency. All who choose to deny that the Creator, the Redeemer, and the Sanctifier, are appropriately or advantageously worshipped by resting on the Sabbath day, may defy Mr. Townsend to show that the institution is binding on them.

If it is not a *precept* of more or less authority, it is a mere human invention, to be varied or dispensed with as circumstances require. In short, Mr. Townsend has confounded the great and peculiar subjects of consideration on the Sabbath, with our obligation to observe it. The proper employment of the day is essentially distinct from the reasons for keeping it holy. But the preacher has not attended to the distinction.

The sixth Sermon, on the Necessity of Preaching the Gospel, contains a piece of information for which we are much indebted to Mr. Townsend.

"We read of the Church of Israel—that is, the one Church of the one great and independent nation of Israel. We never read in the Old Testament of the Church of a province; nor of the Church of a city. We never read of the Church of Zebulon, or of the Church of Naphthali—of the Church of Jerusalem, or of the Church of Ramoth-Gilead. We read only of one national Church, which was extensive as the borders of the nation, and numerous as the inhabitants of the country."

Now we have taxed our memories, and thumbed our concordances, and for the life of us we can no more read of the Church of Israel, than of the Church of Zebulon or Naphthali. "The Church in the Wilderness" was mentioned, no doubt, by St. Stephen; but not in a manner to strengthen or elucidate Mr. Townsend's argument. The blunder, we confess, is of little moment; but why blunder at all in matters, where accuracy is so easy, and where a deferential respect for the Holy Scriptures should teach us never to speak or write, much less to print and publish, without an absolute certainty that we quote correctly? But the reader will see other specimens of Mr. Townsend's off-hand mode of citing the inspired writers, and the present is only noticed as one instance among many.

The "Reconciliation of opposite Opinions on Regeneration" is said to be accomplished in the twelfth Discourse. But we are unable to perceive that any reconciliation has been effected. Mr. Townsend distinctly rejects both the Calvinistic and the Wesleyan explanation of the term *Regeneration*; and although he speaks, in unmeasured terms, respecting the corruption of human nature, we apprehend that he will make few converts among those who worship at Geneva or at the Tabernacle. When it is remembered that the Epistle Dedicatory condemns the Evangelical preachers for using language that would lead their hearers to infer that men are demons in malignity and wickedness, the following passage will create some surprise:—

"When the Almighty originally created man, he was a perfect and spiritual being. His will was the will of God—his motives were pure—his affections were heavenly—his life was holy—his actions were pleas-

ing to his Creator. When, however, he fell by his disobedience, a mysterious and wonderful change took place. We were once spirit, we now became flesh. All who are born into the world are in the same state. All by nature are born earthly—sensual—devilish. They are earthly, because they are overcome by the love of the present world—their thoughts are earthly—their desires, their cares, their pursuits, their hopes, their fears, begin and end with this earth—its riches, its honours, its pleasures, its novelties, its attractions. Men by nature never think of God, unless it be to murmur at His Providence, and to blaspheme His name. And as they are earthly, so also are fallen men sensual—that is, they are entirely devoted to the indulgence of their appetites and passions—and they are devilish, inasmuch as they are the willing slaves of malice, and envy, and hatred—and as they are the poor miserable victims of pride, and anger, and revenge. Do not think that I paint the portrait of the fallen man in too odious colours.”

That a “man by nature should never think of God, unless it be to murmur at His Providence and to blaspheme his name,” does appear to us to be sufficiently odious. And the trebled iniquity which Mr. Townsend imputes to all men, “the earthly, the sensual, and the devilish,” approaches somewhat nearly to the doctrine of those who “make us demons in malignity and wickedness.” The three epithets just quoted are great favourites with our preacher, and he produces them a second time, in a Discourse on the Demoniacs, accompanied with one of those pieces of private information respecting the Scriptures with which he obligingly favours his readers from time to time. “St. James tells us that there are these three degrees of sin, the *earthly*, the *sensual*, and the *devilish*,” p. 245. Now really St. James tells us no such thing. The words are to be found in the third chapter of his Epistle, and at the fifteenth verse; and of this fact Mr. Townsend was well aware, for he refers to the passage at the bottom of his page. The Apostle is condemning the folly of bitter envying and strife, of glorying and lying against the truth—and he says, “This wisdom descendeth not from above, but is earthly, sensual, devilish.” The words in question are three epithets applied to one sin—namely, to a contentious spirit—not a classification of all sins under three heads. There is not the most distant reference to three degrees of sin; and the inaccuracy of Mr. Townsend on so plain a point, is a conclusive evidence of the carelessness with which his work has been composed.

A discourse on the meaning and object of the Transfiguration, contains another of our author's discoveries, which shall be presented in his own words.

“This view of the transfiguration, as a representation of the scenes which will take place at the day of judgment, will be rendered still

more probable, if we consider the causes for which the religion of the New Testament has been granted to us. It is granted to us to prove, and demonstrate the certainty of another life; and, as far as we are able to bear it, the nature of that life; and we may justly believe that some actions which are recorded in the life of Christ would explain to us all that we are able to bear, respecting the invisible world to which we are all hastening. THE TEMPTATION of Christ proves to us, that evil spirits, which we cannot see at present, present temptations to wickedness to the mind of man. THE LIFE of Christ was intended to teach us how to live. THE SUFFERINGS of Christ were intended to teach us how to bear up against affliction and sorrow. THE DEATH of Christ teaches us how to die. THE RESURRECTION of Christ assures us, that we shall also break forth from the prison of the grave. THE ASCENSION of Christ proves to us that the resurrection of the body is but the commencement of our immortality—and that, as He has gone up into heaven, so shall we also follow Him thither—for where the Head of the Church shall be, there shall also the members of the body rest. But as all these interesting events in the destiny of man are to be found exemplified in Christ, it is not improbable that the greatest event in man's immortal existence—an event greater even than his death or his resurrection, namely, his appearance before the judgment-seat of God, would be also represented in the history of the same Saviour—and it is no where to be found, unless in the narrative of the transfiguration: there, and there only, we are presented with the proof and pledge and certainty of our appearance at the judgment-seat, by the same kind of evidence—the evidence of a figurative fact—the very same kind of evidence which proves the truth and certainty of our resurrection and ascension. If it shall be demanded of a Christian, for what reason he believes in the fact of the resurrection of the dead? He need not have recourse to long and laboured arguments to account for it. He points at once to the resurrection of Christ from the dead, as the best proof, and the best demonstration, that he also shall rise again. If it shall be demanded of a Christian for what reason he believes in the flight of his immortal spirit to another world—he points to the fact of the ascension of Christ into heaven—and if it shall be demanded for what reason he believes in a judgment to come, he may answer, not only that conscience, and Scripture, and reason affirm it, but that the fact of the transfiguration proves it—for Christ has appeared to His Apostles in the same form, and in the same manner, in which He will come from heaven at the day of judgment, that we might believe in this doctrine of Scripture as we believe in others—on the testimony of facts, as well as arguments—on the actions of Christ, as well as on His sacred words.—pp. 257—259.

We would seriously ask Mr. Townsend whether he is aware of what he is doing, when he tells unlearned and unstable persons that the Transfiguration affords “the same kind of evidence to the certainty of a future judgment, as the resurrection of Christ from the dead affords to the certainty of a future life.”

There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who justly regard the Resurrection of Jesus Christ as the corner stone of his religion. Will these persons be confirmed in the faith by telling them that the very same kind of evidence, which in this case is so convincing, is also to be extracted by some theological alchemy from the Transfiguration of our Lord? "It is a figurative fact?" Figurative of what? of our Lord's glorification—if Mr. Townsend pleases; of his being the crown and completion of God's dispensation; the person in whom the Law and the Prophets had their true end and explanation; and who was seen in company with Moses and Elijah for the purpose of revealing this wonderful circumstance to his chief disciples. But what do we read respecting the day of judgment? That our Lord's face did shine as the sun, and his raiment became exceeding white and glistening as the snow; and that similar expressions are applied to the Ancient of Days in Daniel vii. 10, and to the Son of Man in Revelation i. 16. But admitting all that to be true, does it affect the question raised by Mr. Townsend? If Moses and Elijah had spoken of the end of the world, there might have been some colour for his hypothesis. But "they spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." There is not the most distant allusion to his coming to judge the quick and dead; and when we are informed in the appendix that our author "thought it necessary to show what has hitherto been overlooked," (p. 486,) we cannot refrain from wishing that he had been as purblind as preceding commentators. If there be any necessity for "a figurative fact" to convince us that we shall stand at the judgment seat of Christ, we venture to remind Mr. Townsend of one for which there is somewhat higher authority than for his recent discovery. At the destruction of the Temple and City of Jerusalem the Lord appeared for the first time as in the clouds of heaven, and his second appearance is sufficiently certified to all who believe in the prophetic annunciation, and the accurate accomplishment of that awful visitation.

We observe that Mr. Townsend gives a different account of the scope and object of the Transfiguration in his sermon for Palm Sunday.

"Our Lord, as you well know, was revealed as the priest, the prophet, and the king of His people. The first voice from heaven at His baptism, announced Him to be the priest, who was then to begin His public ministry—the voice at the transfiguration announced Him as the prophet, who should come into the world; and He accordingly began, from that time, to prophesy His sufferings, and His death—and the voice from heaven on this fifth day before the passover announced Him to be the king whom Zechariah had predicted."—p. 295.

This is much more to the purpose than the passage previously exhibited. But can Mr. Townsend reconcile such contradictory statements?

Our readers have now seen some samples of the preacher's imaginative powers. But probably they are not prepared for the next passage to which we must call their attention. Preaching on the resurrection of the body, he adverts to the rising of the bodies of the saints that slept, after the resurrection of our Lord. And he treats this very difficult subject in the following manner.

"St. Matthew's Gospel was published within a short time after the resurrection of Christ,—it was extensively circulated, it was every where known in Judea, and in Jerusalem. The persons who opposed the Gospel would have made their inquiries upon this subject, when they heard the apostles preaching the doctrine of the resurrection with that remarkable boldness which distinguished their conduct after the descent of the Holy Spirit,—the opponents of Christianity would say—'Where are the persons who saw their friends after this resurrection of the Galilean? The Jews are accustomed to go to the graves of their friends and weep: which of all those who did so, saw the graves thus opened, and the bodies of their friends restored?' The answer would have been given by many—'I was walking and weeping over the grave of my father or my mother,' one would have said, 'and suddenly, at the end of that singular darkness which overspread the land on one of the first days of the passover, the solid rock of which the sepulchre was formed broke asunder, and the grave opened—and I saw the forms I loved, once more before me—but oh, how changed—the flesh had withered—the bones were decayed—I gazed, but I stirred not—for suddenly I beheld them begin to move—and the bones came together, and the sinews and the flesh seemed to renew themselves, and they looked as if they would live, but there was no breath in them—but on the third day after—when I was recovered from the trembling with which I had beheld them, they appeared to me in my own house at Jerusalem, and told me that the Galilean who was crucified had restored them to life.' 'I had followed,' another might have said, 'Jesus of Nazareth from the judgment-hall to Calvary. I beheld the darkness. I saw Him expire. I smote my breast and returned—three days after I also saw in my own house at Jerusalem, the form of my nearest and dearest friend—with whom I had so often conversed about the strange prophet who had appeared amongst us, and he told me that his resurrection had taken place through the power of this same Jesus, who declared himself the resurrection and the life—of Jesus of Nazareth, whom these men preach, and whom you oppose in vain.'"—pp. 392, 393.

Is this a sober paraphrase on the word of God, or an offensive addition to it? Can any thing be conceived in worse taste than the description here given of a child beholding the gradual progress of a parent's resuscitation? Mr. Townsend reproaches

a large portion of the Clergy with coldness of manner. We hope the day is far distant when they will imitate his fervour. If any more instances of vicious eloquence are required, take the following sentence in the same Sermon:—

“After the resurrection, the Jews affirmed that the disciples stole away the body while the guard was sleeping. Let us examine if this was possible. The soldiers were Romans, to whom it was death to sleep on their posts. It was the finest time of the year in that country; so that they had little temptation to sleep. They were appointed to watch but for one night; so that the duty was not fatiguing. The moon was nearly at the full; for the Jews always celebrated the passover at the full moon. The sepulchre, like all the Jewish sepulchres, consisted of two rooms, the outer room was that in which the mourners were accustomed to visit the tombs; the inner one was that in which the bodies were deposited. If any person, therefore, had ventured to come near the place where the body of Jesus lay, they must first have climbed into the garden—then they must have gone through the outer room, where a band of Roman soldiers was placed—and then they must have rolled away the stone from the inner door, and broken the seal, forced open the inner door itself, and removed the body from among the guards, and taken it from the tomb, and from the garden, unseen, unnoticed by any—Is it necessary that I should stop to prove the absurdity of these suppositions, and the falsehood of the story which the Jews invented, that His poor timid disciples came by night and stole the body, while the Roman soldiers slept! They *would not*, because they had no interest or reason for doing it. They *could not*, for they had no power. They *dared not*, for they had no courage. There is but one truth—the resurrection of Christ from the grave. King of glory come forth! Son of God arise! Break from the prison of the grave—and burst the bars of death asunder! The hour of the resurrection has arrived—the third promised day has come. First born from the dead—Saviour of man—giver of immortality—arise and come forth!—and he has risen, and we shall rise also.”—pp. 396, 397.

We have now enabled our readers to judge whether Mr. Townsend has, or has not, succeeded in the attempt announced in his Dedication—whether he has, or has not, given his brethren a pattern after the manner of which they ought to preach. If he thinks that we have reviewed his work with harshness, he must thank his own authoritative and dictatorial tone for the visitation. That tone he had no right to assume. But, having assumed it, he was bound to take care that his sermons should contain sound criticism, accurate reasoning, and sober language. We have proved it to be grossly deficient in every one of these particulars. And the cause of miscarriage is evident—namely, an opinion that it becomes him to do and say something which is not done or said by the common herd. We say that this is evident, because when he does not attempt to “surprise and elevate,” Mr. Towns-

end is a good and powerful preacher. We could easily extend this article to double its present length, by extracting and commenting upon passages of more than ordinary merit which are to be found in many parts of his volume. But he ought not to have published it without careful revision; and we trust that when he next comes before the public as an author, it will be in a shape more consistent with that in which he has formerly appeared.

ART. X.—*Brief Memoirs of the late Right Reverend John Thomas James, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta; particularly during his residence in India; gathered from his Letters and Papers.* By Edward James, M.A., Prebendary of Winchester, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of the Diocese. London: Hatchard and Son. 1830.

It would be absurd to compare the reputation or services of the third Bishop of Calcutta with those of his predecessors. But we deem it very unjust to fix exclusive attention upon exalted talent, or brilliant success, and to pass over what is done and suffered by men of an ordinary stamp. There can be no doubt that Bishop James deserved well both of the Church and the country. To the discharge of duties which he did not seek, but which were forced upon him by repeated solicitation, he brought a well regulated and deeply-pious heart, an elegant and cultivated understanding, and a large share of conscientious diligence and perseverance. His life was sacrificed partly to the unhealthiness of the climate of Bengal, and still more to the overwhelming weight of business which had accumulated during the vacancy of the See, and was poured at once, from every corner of Hindostan, into the lap of an unsettled stranger. Under these circumstances, we enter readily into the feelings of his friends, when they are told, as from this memoir they appear to have been told, that no provision can be made by the East India Company for the widow and family of Bishop James, because he had accomplished nothing deserving of reward.

The Company may possibly pronounce a similar sentence upon the work before us, which has certainly done nothing for them. But Mr. James, while he kindly performs the last offices for a beloved brother, has at the same time rendered valuable assistance to the great cause of religion, by producing additional evidence of the insufficiency of the present ecclesiastical establishment in India. This truth, indeed, stares us in the face, whicheckever way we turn. But as the heart of Leadenhall Street

is known to be a conglomerate of firm texture, and to be moved *non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, we hail Mr. James's volume as one of a series of gentle but reiterated appeals, which will at last reach the sensorium of the body to which they are addressed. The following portion of the Memoir seems to us to bear directly upon the question respecting a division of the Diocese of Calcutta. The progress of native education in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, and the imperfect system adopted in the government schools is thus stated:—

“About this time the Bishop was making inquiry as to the general state of the schools in connexion with the English Church, and particularly those supported by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: and he found that that Society has four principal districts or circles of schools in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in which it is estimated that near two thousand native children are in course of education upon Dr. Bell's system; the Church Missionary Society has twelve schools, containing about six hundred boys, besides their five schools for native females under Mrs. Wilson. The free school has near three hundred boys and girls. The orphan grammar school for boys, and that for girls, (both of which are supported by subscriptions raised among the English residents,) contain near four hundred Indo-British children; and the aggregate of these, together with the scholars of missionaries belonging to other societies, the Bishop considered as affording a satisfactory prospect of the harvest that may hereafter be hoped for, when from this number many a sower shall go out to sow the seed.

“Meanwhile, though he had not personally visited them, he was no inattentive observer of what was going on in the Hindoo and Mahometan colleges in Calcutta, both of which are largely assisted by the government from the annual supply for public instruction. The object of these two colleges is to instruct the Hindoo and Mahometan youth in English literature—but, alas! without the Scriptures. The exhibition of the students of the former institution, at the public distribution of their prizes in January, had recently attracted much notice; they had acted scenes from Shakespeare with great success, and the astonishing progress they had made had been the subject of frequent discussion among the wealthier Hindoos: the Bishop, lamenting deeply the fear which caused the exclusion of the Scriptures, saw, from all that was passing around, that both these institutions, in their present state, obviously led to deism; still, as he observed that it was deism not directly opposed to Christianity, but to Hindoo Polytheism, he could not but regard it as tending to remove the main bulwark of their idolatrous superstitions, and gradually opening a way for the admission of the *truth and the life*.”

An official letter addressed to the late Archbishop of Canterbury gives the following account of things that were done or doing in the diocese of Calcutta.

“The Honourable Company having ordered registers to be made, and

quarterly returns of all marriages, baptisms, and burials, whether by clerical administration or other, I have ordered that they shall all be received at the Registrar's office of this Archdeaconry: in the first place, because of the great convenience such a measure affords to the public at large; next, because I think the church ought to be the main organ of the government in such matters; and, thirdly, because the Bishop will thus always have means of inspecting, and, I hope, reforming, any abuse that may occur as to lay ministrations. I have made a representation to Government on this latter subject; but the cases of absolute and undeniable necessity are very numerous in this country.

" Finding that Calcutta was considered as one parish, and that much inconvenience arose from the circumstance that all who belong to the Church of England, except the military, were obliged to attend St. John's, the cathedral church, for the administration of baptism, or marriage, or for the burial service; I have divided the city, for ecclesiastical purposes, into three parochial districts, the Fort making a fourth, in order that the officiating minister of each may have his duties better defined; and I trust, also, that a better connection may thus be established between each chaplain and those who attend his church. The sick will now be visited as the canon enjoins, for they will know to whom to apply; and a clergyman will not be obliged to refuse baptism most uncanonically, as heretofore, to those who bring their children to his church on Sundays or holidays. I have taken care that the established custom, as to the senior chaplain, should not be interfered with. I shall hope to make the same arrangement hereafter at Bombay and Madras.

" On the 8th of April, I administered the rite of confirmation to four hundred and one persons, seven out of which number were converts from Hinduism, sent from a school belonging to the Church Missionary Society, then under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Reichardt.

" I am happy to make a good report of the present state of Bishop's College. In conformity with the statutes of the College, I have appointed, according to the best selection I could make, a syndicate and associate syndics in most of the several languages of these parts. The Principal, Dr. Mill, who, in addition to his other valuable acquirements, is a competent Sanskrit scholar, suggested the propriety of having certain important theological and scriptural tracts translated, first into Sanskrit, as being thus the more easily transferable into most of the other eastern languages. On the 15th of May we met, and with the assistance of Mr. Morton, a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, of considerable learning, and of Mr. Wilson, our associate syndic in the Sanskrit, most of the tracts were undertaken; some few only remain. It has been my object to take care that simplicity should be observed as much as possible, and fidelity to the original.

" With regard to the subject of marriages, on which my much lamented predecessor addressed your Grace at length, I too have something to say. No one could with more touching accuracy, have described the evils occasioned by the present system, or have pointed out more forcibly than he has done, the want of a remedy.

* * * * *

“ I have now heard, and attentively considered, all that the most acute lawyers here have to advance upon the subject ;—and licenses are in the course of being issued in the same manner as in England. The appointment of Surrogates in certain districts, perhaps in all, will follow ; and I hope much of the difficulty complained of by Bishop Heber will admit of a remedy being applied by me. If there be any hazard, placed as I am here, it is my duty not to shrink from it, but to act for the best ; the evils of the present system calling urgently, as they do, for a remedy, and two long years having elapsed since my predecessor wrote : they were then urgent, and I ought not now to fear to act. I believe, that, originally, marriages were solemnized on the simple permission of the Governor-general as guardian of the parties : in 1813, before the appointment of a Bishop, this was commuted for regular licenses.

“ With regard to the publication of banns in remote situations—I can find no copy of the regulations issued by Bishop Middleton, and shall therefore only direct my attention to the best mode, under all circumstances, of preventing those evils which the publication of banns in parish churches was intended to obviate, and shall interfere only with this object. I have commenced a correspondence with his Excellency the Commander-in-chief upon this matter, and shall be glad to find that my view of the subject is confirmed by the law-officers of your Grace’s courts in England. * * * *

“ I have heard from Ceylon, New South Wales, and Malacca, but have at present nothing important to communicate respecting the church in those places.

“ I have found it my duty to recommence that inquiry with regard to one of the chaplains at Bombay, which my predecessor left unfinished on account of the absence of the chief witness, and I shall report again to your Grace hereafter. I am sorry to say some delay has occurred in this matter, but it has arisen from circumstances which I could not controul.

“ On the 20th, I hold my primary visitation here, and shall then set out for the Upper Provinces. I have circulated letters of inquiry, according to the old English practice, which, I am quite sure, cannot but be doubly useful here. My inquiries have chiefly had reference to the state of the church, as the rock on which all should be founded. I have not been neglectful of the missions, which certainly require great attention ; but I feel that I have not yet had that experience in this country which can assure my steps. Nothing, however, shall be wanting on my part which can in any way tend to the advancement of our great and holy cause.”—pp. 126—131.

The want of churches and chaplains throughout the British empire in India still continues very great.

“ The bishop had so arranged his plans for the visitation of his diocese, that he should be able personally to inspect each part of it, in the first five years, still making Calcutta his principal residence ; at the end of that time he had reason to hope that he should have coadjutors in his laborious and gigantic undertaking. With a view to informing himself, as correctly as he could, of the means actually provided for the public

worship of God, and for the religious instruction of those who profess the doctrines of the Established Church, he had, with the assistance of Mr. Abbot, his registrar, during the summer, procured a statement of the number of churches, or other places in which clergymen have been licensed to officiate, and the number of ministers appointed to each. In the whole archdeaconry of Calcutta, which is co-extensive with the Presidency of Bengal, he found, that, exclusive of the city of Calcutta,—which has three churches with four ministers, besides the cathedral with two, and Bishop's college chapel in the neighbourhood—there are only thirty-one stations, with twenty-nine licensed ministers: in seven of these only were churches then built, at Dum Dum, Chinsurah, Dacca, Merût, Futtty-Ghur, Benares, and Penang; and three more were being built, at Ghazipoor, Dynapoor, and Agra; in the remaining twenty-one stations, divine service must still be performed, either in rooms in private houses, or in bungalows, set apart for the purpose. In the archdeaconry of Madras, which is the part of India where the Christian church was earliest planted, he found, that, besides the town of Madras itself, which has three churches, with four ministers, and Maslipatam, which has two, there are only fourteen stations, with a chaplain appointed to each; in only six of these are churches already built, and no more than one new one in progress, though many are wanted. From the archdeaconries of Bombay, Ceylon, and New South Wales, he had not yet complete returns; but the accounts which he received from all sides, showed how insufficient is the number of stations, as well as of clergy, throughout the diocese, and that though 'the fields are white already to the harvest,'—'the labourers are but few.'

"The bishop had always expressed his opinion with regard to those chapels in London and other populous places in England, which had been opened for divine worship, without any parochial districts being assigned to them—that it was an innovation on the church, and a departure from its constitution, which our forefathers never contemplated, and which our posterity will have to lament in the broken attachment it will cause, unless a remedy be applied by ourselves;—and acting upon this principle, when he found a similar system to prevail throughout the extensive diocese over which he was called to preside, he set himself directly to strengthen the establishment of the church, and further the object for which it was first ordained, by introducing among his clergy that pastoral superintendence of their congregations, which is technically called "cure of souls;" and thus assimilating, as much as possible, the duties of a minister of the church of India, with those of a parish priest in England, the weekly visitor and friend of his people; rather than of the Sunday preacher unconnected with his flock. And beginning with the division of Calcutta into such parochial districts, he had the satisfaction to find that the Governor-General, and the members of the council, entirely coincided with him in his views of the benefits that would arise.

"From much that had come under his own eye at Calcutta, and from much that he had heard from others at a distance, he saw reason to lament most deeply, the frequent examples of the neglect of the sabbath, so common among Europeans in India, all works being in full activity

on that day,—and the almost total want of that salutary influence which a due observance of the holy day of rest might have over the natives; and he hoped that he might hereafter prevail in effecting some improvement in this matter, but felt it could not be while he was yet but a stranger in the land.”—pp. 132—135.

We submit this statement to the consideration of such as say that there is already an adequate Church Establishment in British India. A stronger case might doubtless have been established if Bishop James had lived to complete his visitation of the diocese; but enough transpired during his short residence at Calcutta to prove that more workmen, and more superintendants, are indispensably necessary to a vigorous prosecution of the work which has been taken in hand; and public gratitude is due to the author of these Memoirs for the clear, unaffected, and interesting manner in which he has brought this fact before the public.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Elham, R.	Kent . . .	Francis Litchfield	Merton Coll. Oxford.
York.			
Archd. of Nottingham	York . . .	W. Barrow, D.C.L.	The Archbishop.
Babworth, R.	Notts . . .	Chas. Westeneys	Hon. J. B. Simpson.
Broughton, V.	W. York . .	Edward Hay . .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Can. Res. in Cath. Ch. of	York . . .	Charles Hawkins	The Archbishop.
Darfield, V.	W. York . .	B. Charlesworth	Trinity Coll. Camb.
Drayton, East, V. . . .	Notts . . .	Chas. Sympson . .	Dean and Chapter.
Ganton, V.	E. York . .	R. B. Scholefield	Sir T. Legard, Bart.
Hinderwell, R.	N. York . .	W. H. Smith . .	Thomas Smith, Esq.
Idle, C.	W. York . .	Thomas Howorth	Vic. of Calverley.
Kirkdale, P. C.	N. York . .	Wm. Kay . . .	University of Oxford.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	York . . .	H. Roberson . .	The Archbishop.
Ratcliffe-on-Soar, V. . .	Notts . . .	Win. Helps, jun.	Earl Howe.
Tadcaster, V.	W. York . .	B. Maddock . .	Earl of Egremont.
London.			
Malden, St. Mary, R. . .	Essex . . .	Charles Matthew	D. & C. of Canterbury.
North Shoebury, V. . .	Essex . . .	J. E. Commins . .	Lord Chancellor.
St. Alban's, St. Stephen, V.	Herts . . .	M. R. Southwell	Alfred Fisher, Esq.
Stanway, R.	Essex . . .	Henry Jenkins . .	Magdalen Coll. Oxf.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Chaldon, R. . . .	Surrey . .	James Legrew .	Rev. T. Welton.
Goodworth Clatford, V. .	Hants . .	Rich. Durnford .	W. Iremonger, Esq.
Upper Clatford, R. . .	Hants . .	Edward Frowd .	R. Willis, Esq.
Yaverland, R. . . .	I. of Wight .	Robert Sherson .	Mrs. A. Wright.
Bath and Wells.			
Buckland, St. Mary, R. .	Somerset .	John Edwin Lance	Lient. Gen. Popham.
Hinton Blewett, R. . .	Somerset .	John N. Shipton	G. Johnson, Esq.
Bristol.			
Melbury Osmond, R. } and Sampford, R. . }	Dorset . .	E. Strangways .	Earl of Ilchester.
Witchampton, R. . . .	Dorset . .	Carr John Glyn .	Henry Sturt, Esq.
Chester.			
Farndon, P. C. . . .	Chester . .	F. T. Bryans . .	Earl Grosvenor.
Farnworth, C. . . .	Lancaster .	T. Ashworth . .	Vicar of Dean.
Mansergh, C. . . .	Westmoreland	John Rowlandson	V. of Kirkby Lonsdale.
Tarporley, R. . . .	Chester . .	R. J. Statham .	Rev. Sir P. Egerton, Bt.
Tockholes, C. . . .	Lancash. .	G. Robinson . .	Vic. of Blackburn.
Well, V.	N. York .	P. Stubbs . . .	C. Chaplin, Esq.
Chichester.			
Ashburnham, V. with } Penhurst, R. . . . }	Sussex . .	E. Warneford .	D. & C. of Canterbury.
Chichester, St. Pancras, R. . . . }	Sussex . .	J. Davies . . .	Rev. G. Bliss.
Milborn, C.	Westmoreland	P. Threlkeld . .	Earl of Thanet.
Ely.			
Conington, R. . . .	Cambridge .	J. Shaw . . .	Lord Bishop.
Littleport, V. . . . }	Cambridge .	E. B. Sparke .	Lord Bishop.
[to hold by Dispensation with Barley, R. Herts.] }			
Orwell, R.	Cambridge .	Peter Debary .	Trin. Coll. Cambridge.
Steeple Morden, V. .	Cambridge .	Thomas Brereton	New Coll. Oxford.
Exeter.			
Bickley, V.	Devon . .	Wm. Prowze .	Sir M. M. Lopez.
Morthoe, V.	Devon . .	J. B. Ness . .	Dn. & Ch. of Exeter.
Priest Vic. in Cath. Ch. of	Exeter . .	John Warne . .	Dean and Chapter.
Tamertonfoliot, V. .	Devon . .	G. Arthur . . .	Lord Chancellor.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Hereford.			
Chanc. of Cath. Ch. of	Hereford . .	Hugh H. Morgan	Lord Bishop.
Eaton Bishop, R. . .	Hereford . .	N. Stonehouse .	Lord Bishop.
Goodrich, V. . . .	Hereford . .	Henry C. Morgan	Lord Bishop.
Pencombe, R. . . .	Hereford . .	H. B. Domville .	Sir C. Domville, Bart.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Hereford . .	E. Money . . .	Lord Bishop.
Lich. & Coventry.			
Bredsall, R.	Derby . . .	H. R. Crewe . .	Sir G. Crewe, Bart.
Kemberton, R. with } Sutton Maddock, V. }	Salop . . .	Charles Oakes .	Mrs. S. Oakes.
Stanton-by-Bridge, R. } and Swarkston, R. }	Derby . . .	T. W. Whitaker .	Sir G. Crewe, Bart.
Lincoln.			
Bygrave, R.	Herts . . .	F. J. Faithfull .	Marq. of Salisbury.
Kirton, P. C.	Lincoln . .	W. H. Macalpine	V. of Kirton.
Leicester, St. Marga- } ret, V. }	Lincoln . .	Andrew Irvine }	Preb. of St. Margaret, Leicester, in Cath. Ch.
Padbury, V.	Bucks . . .	W. T. Eyre . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Llandaff.			
Gwernesney, R. . . .	Monmouth .	J. F. Jones . . .	Duke of Beaufort.
Norwich.			
Bradfield Combust, R.	Suffolk . .	Henry Heigham	Rev. H. Hasted.
Bramfield, V.	Suffolk . .	Christr. Mason .	Lord Chancellor.
Brandon, Little, R. . .	Norwich . .	Chas. Reynolds .	F. R. Reynolds, Esq.
Dalham, R.	Suffolk . .	C. D. M. Drake	Gen. Sir J. Affleck, Bt.
Dallinghoe, R.	Suffolk . .	Ellis Walford .	Edward Moore, Esq.
Denston, P. C.	Suffolk . .	A. J. Tharp . . .	Wm. Piggot, Esq.
Ipswich, St. Mary Key, C.	Suffolk . .	Wm. Harbur . .	The Parishioners.
Little Dunham, R. . .	Norfolk . .	John Nelson . .	J. Goldson, Esq.
Meton Parva, V. . . .	Norfolk . .	Hon. A. A. Turnour	Lord Bishop, by lapse.
North Repps, R. . . .	Norfolk . .	P. C. Law . . . }	Chanc. of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Wantesden, P. C. . . .	Suffolk . .	Thomas Comyn	N. Barnadiston, Esq.
Oxford.			
Over Worton, R. . . .	Oxford . . .	Daniel Wilson .	T. Cartwright, Esq.
Peterborough.			
Aynho, R.	Northampton	S. R. Cartwright	W. R. Cartwright, M. P.
Milton Malyor, R. . .	Northampton	G. Oakes Miller }	Louis Hayes Petit and J. G. Childern, Esq.
Teigh, R.	Rutland . .	A. S. Atcheson .	Earl of Harborough.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Rochester.			
Offham, R.	Kent	John Cecil Hall	Lord Chancellor.
Salisbury.			
Fugglestone, St. Peter, } R. with Bemerton, V. }	Wilts	John Eddy	Earl of Pembroke.
Marlborough, } St. Peter, R. . . . }	Wilts	E. H. G. Williams	The Lord Bishop.
Orcheston, St. Geo. R. } Preb. of Netherbury in } Terra, in Cath. Ch. of }	Wilts	G. P. Lowther	Rev. F. Gibbs.
Preb. of Grimston and } Yatminster in the } Cath. Church of }	Salisbury	G. S. Faber	The Lord Bishop.
Stanford Dingley, R. . } Wanborough, V. . . }	Salisbury	Herb. Hawes, D.D.	The Lord Bishop.
	Berks	Chas. Holloway	Rev. E. Valpy, D.D.
	Wilts	C. Richards	Dn. & Ch. of Winton.
Worcester.			
Wolford, V. with } Burmington, C. . }	Warwick	E. H. B. Estcourt	Merton Coll. Oxford.

CHAPLAINCIES.

Atkinson, John, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Mexborough.

Cooper, Wm. to be Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty.

Drake, Geo. James Assheton, B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Baroness Delazouche.

Goldney, J. K. to be Chaplain to His Majesty's Ship Blonde.

Griffith, R. C. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Marquis of Bath.

Nisbett, Jas. M. to be Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. Lord Dunally.

Warter, John Wood, to be Chaplain to His Majesty's Embassy at Copenhagen.

CHAPELRY.

Sibthorpe, R. Waldo, B.D. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, to the Chapel of St. James, at Ryde, Isle of Wight.

SCHOOLS.

Creswell, W. M. A. to the Head Mastership of Chatham and Rochester School.

Dunningham, John, M.A. to the Second Mastership of Hackney Church-of-England School.

Kennedy, B. H. to the Assistant Mastership of Harrow School.

Powell, Walter P. to the Mastership of the Grammar School at Bampton, Oxford.

IRELAND.

Rev. C. Bardin, to the Rectory of Der-ryloran, in the county of Tyrone; Patron, the Primate.

Rev. Edward Jackson, to the Deanery of Armagh.

Rev. William Mauleverer, to the Vicarage of Tynan, in the county of Armagh; Patron, the Primate.

ORDAINED.

HEREFORD.

By the Lord Bishop in the Chapel of St. Mary's College, Winchester, June 6.

DEACONS.

Henry Mesurier, B.A. New Col. Oxf.
J. Pearson, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxf.
R. Armitage, B.A. Worcester Col. Oxf.
R. Bellamy, B.A. Pembroke Col. Oxf.
John Meredith, B.A. Ch. Ch. Oxford.
John Purton, B.A. Trin. Col. Oxford.
T. Parry, B.A. Wadham Col. Oxford.
M. Jones, B.A. Jesus College, Oxford.
J. Lloyd, B.A. St. John's Col. Camb.

PRIESTS.

Rev. Charles Awdry, B.C.L. Fellow of New College, Oxford.
Rev. Charles Wells, B.A. Fellow of New College, Oxford.
Rev. Thomas James Roche, B.A. Downing College, Oxford.

NORWICH.

At a General Ordination, held in the Cathedral Church, June 6.

DEACONS.

John Cobbold Aldrich, B.A. Lincoln College, Oxford.
H. Deane, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.
G. W. Kershaw, Worcester Col. Oxf.
James Slade, B.A. St. Alb. Hall, Oxf.
R. Smith, B.A. St. John's Col. Oxf.
C. Stone, B.A. University Col. Oxf.
T. J. Townshend, Worcester Col. Oxf.
T. Brand, B.A. Magd. Col. Camb.
Thomas Brown, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

William Lucas Chafy, B.A. Sidney College, Cambridge.

William Henry Clarke, B.A. Catherine Hall, Cambridge.

H. N. W. Comyn, B.A. Caius College, Cambridge.

F. C. Crick, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

T. W. Greaves, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

W. P. Hulton, B.A. Downing College, Cambridge.

W. Lecch, B.A. Queen's Col. Camb.

William Millnett, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

W. Nunn, B.A. Jesus College, Camb.

J. Rogerson, M.A. Edinburgh.

Thomas Scott, B.A. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge.

J. H. Stimson, B.A. Cains Col. Camb.

T. Stone, B.A. St. John's Col. Camb.

James French Sumpter, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

W. H. Syer, B.A. Jesus College, Camb.

T. Theobald, B.A. Christ Col. Camb.

H. Walford, B.A. Trinity Col. Camb.

C. Waller, B.A. Queen's Col. Camb.

M. Waters, B.A. Emm. Col. Camb.

G. A. Whitaker, B.A. Emmanuel Col.

Cambridge.

W. Whitear, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

William Bannerman, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

C. Nicoll, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford.

K. Trimmer, B.A. St. Alban Hall, Oxf.

W. J. Aislabie, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb.

A. H. Milles, B.A. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

H. Atcheson, M.B. Jesus Col. Camb.

J. C. Badely, LL.D. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

W. Darb, B.A. St. Peter's College, Cambridge.

J. M. Dawson, B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge.

T. Halstead, B.A. Trin. Hall, Camb.

J. Hodgson, B.A. Jesus College, Camb.

W. Roworth, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

A. W. Langton, B.A. Caius Col. Camb.

J. C. Leak, S.C.L. Trin. Hall, Camb.

H. S. Marriott, B.A. Trin. Col. Camb.

J. D. Monney, B.D. Queen's College, Cambridge.

E. P. Nottidge, S.C.L. Trinity Hall, Cambridge.

G. H. Nutting, B.A. Trin. Hall, Camb.

I. B. Robinson, M.A. Trin. Col. Camb.

F. Steward, B.A. Trinity Hall, Camb.

T. A. James, B.A. Christ Col. Camb.

S. B. Turner, B.A. Pemb. Col. Camb.

OXFORD.

In the Cathedral of Christ Church, on Sunday, June 6, by Dr. Robert Gray, Bishop of Bristol, at the request of the Bishop of Oxford, on account of his illness.

DEACONS.

William Griffith, M.A. Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford.

William David Sheard, B.A. Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Curate of Noke.

William Monkhouse, B.A. Taberdat of Queen's College, Oxford.

Francis Knyvett Leighton, B.A. Fellow of All Souls, Oxford.

Joseph Birchall, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford, Curate of Ascot sub Wyckwood.

Robert French Laurence, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

William Jacobson, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

William Sewell, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

J. Prideaux Lightfoot, M.A. Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford.

Richard Durnford, M.A. Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Charles Baring, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Henry Sanders, B.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

Henry Cholwell Cooper, B.A. Pembroke College, Cambridge, Curate of Stratton Andley.

Richard Grimmett, B.A. Magdalen Hall, Oxford, Curate of Swadcliffe.

Hugh Polson, B.A. Exeter College, Oxford, Curate of Charlton-on-Otmoor.

PRIESTS.

Thomas Barton Hill, B.A. Wadham College Oxford, Curate of Bloxham.

J. Henry Turbitt, M.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

Walter P. Powell, B.A. Scholar of Worcester College, Oxford.

Philip Henry Nind, M.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford.

William Pullen, B.A. Queen's College, Cambridge, Curate of Caversham.

SALISBURY.

At an ordination held by the Lord Bishop in the Chapel of the Palace, on Sunday, March 21.

DEACONS.

Oliver Ormerod, B.A. Brasenose College, Oxford.

Lewis Tomlinson, B.A. Wadham College, Oxford.

Joseph Esmond Riddle, B.A. St. Edmund Hall, Oxford.

Robert Meek, St. John's College, Cambridge.

PRIESTS.

Rev. Jasper Peck, B.A. of Trinity College, Oxford.

Rev. Henry Purrier, jun. B.A. Worcester College, Oxford.

Rev. Frederick Edward Arney, B.A. Queen's College, Oxford.

Rev. Benjamin Morland, B.A. Trinity College, Dublin.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
York.			
Broughton, V. . . .	Cambridge .	Joseph Bardgett	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Carlton Miniot, P. C. }	N. York .	Jonathan Holmes	The Archbishop.
Kildale, R. and }			R. B. Livesay, Esq.
Thirsk, P. C. with }			The Archbishop.
Sandhutton, P. C. . . }	N. York .	George Dixon . }	Lord Feversham.
Helmsley-on-Black-			
Moor, V. . . . }			University of Oxford.
Kirkby Cold, D. and }			
Kirkdale, P. C. . . }	W. York .	Thomas Howorth	Vic. of Calverton.
Idle, C.	W. York .	William Rhodes	Earl of Egremont.
Tadcaster, V. . . .	York . . }	John Eyre . . }	The Archbishop.
Archd. of Nottingham			
Canon Res. in Cath. Ch. }			Hon. J. Simpson.
Preb. of Coll. Ch. of }			
Southwell }	Notts . . }		A. H. Eyre.
Babworth, R. and }			
Headon, Sin. R. . . }			
London.			
Althorne cum Crick- }	Essex . . .	J. P. Rose . .	J. Robinson, Esq.
sea, R. }			
Winchester.			
Brixton, R.	Is. of Wight	Noel Digby . .	The Lord Bishop.
Christ Church, V. . .	Hants . . .	Samuel Clapham	Dean and Chapter.
Ellisfield, R. and }	Hants . . .	Thomas Willis .	R. Willis, Esq.
Clatford, Upper, R. }			
and Lower, C. . . }			
Bangor.			
Llanaelhaiarn, R. . .	Carnarvon .	Wm. Williams .	The Lord Bishop.
Bristol.			
Gussage St. Michael, R.	Dorset . . .	Samuel Clapham	W. Long, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Chester.			
Great Ousborne, <i>V.</i> . .	W. York . .	Samuel Clapham	Lord Chancellor.
Chichester.			
Arlington, <i>V. and</i>)			Preb. of Woodhorne
Ashburnham, <i>V. with</i>)			in Cath. Church.
Penhurst, <i>R. and</i>)	Sussex . .	William Trivett	Dean and Chapter of
Willingdon, <i>V.</i> . .)			Canterbury.
			Dean and Chapter of
			Chichester.
Ely.			
Littleport, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge .	John Vachell .	The Lord Bishop.
Papworth Everard, <i>R.</i>	Cambridge .	George Walker .	Trinity Coll. Camb.
Exeter.			
Bickley, <i>V. and</i>)	Devon . .	W. Y. C. Hunt	Sir M. M. Lopez, Bart.
Tamertonfoliot, <i>V.</i> .)			Lord Chancellor.
Cockington, <i>C. and</i>)	Devon . .	James Yonge .	Rev. R. Mullock.
Stockley Pomeroy, <i>R.</i>)			The Lord Bishop.
and Tormoham, <i>C.</i> .)	Devon . .	Wyndham Scott	Rev. R. Mullock.
Kentisbeare, <i>R.</i> . . .	Devon . .	William Tauner	Hon. P. C. Wyndham.
Priest Vic. in Cath. Ch.)	Devon . .		Dean and Chapter.
and Meshan, <i>R.</i> . .)			G. H. Wollaston, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Bishops Cleeve, <i>V.</i> . .	Gloucester .	R. L. Townsend, DD	Rev. Dr. Townsend.
Hereford.			
Chanc. of Cath. Ch.)	Hereford .	M. Cove, D.C.L.	The Lord Bishop.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. and)			
Bishops Eaton, <i>R.</i> .)	Hereford .	Harry Williams	The Lord Bishop.
Goodrich, <i>V.</i>	Hereford .	John Williams .	E. B. Clive, Esq.
St. Devereux, <i>R. and</i>)			
Wormbridge, <i>C.</i> . .)			
Lich. & Coventry.			
Etwell, <i>V. and</i>)	Derby . .)	L. D. H. Cokburn	The King this turn.
Norton-in-Males, <i>V.</i> .)	Salop . .)		
Himley, <i>R.</i>	Stafford . .	John Dudley .	Earl Dudley.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Lincoln.			
Beelsby, R.	Lincoln . .	John Eyre . .	Southwell Coll. Ch.
Bygrave, R.	Herts . .	George Nugent .	Marq. of Salisbury.
[Also Chapl. in Ord. to his Majesty.]			
Hillesden, P. C. and } Padbury, V. }	Bucks . .	William Eyre . }	Christ Ch. Oxford. Lord Chancellor.
High Tooton, C. . .	Lincoln . .	Wm. Robinson .	Vic. of Horncastle.
Stapleford, V. . . .	Leicester .	Tho. Wingfield .	Earl of Harborough.
Norwich.			
Dallinghoe, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	Isaac Clarke . .	Edward Moor, Esq.
Loddon, V.	Norfolk . .	T. J. Abbott . .	Bishop of Ely.
Little Dunham, R. .	Norfolk . .	Henry Jowett .	E. Parry, Esq.
Rendlesham, R. and } Wantesden, P. C. . }	Suffolk . .	Cuthbert Henley }	The King. N. Barnadiston, Esq.
Peterborough.			
Teign, R. and } Tickencote, R. . . }	Rutland .	Tho. Wingfield }	Earl of Harborough. J. Wingfield, Esq.
Rochester.			
Bidborough, R. . .	Kent . .	John Brock . .	C. Elliott, Esq.
Mereworth, R. . . }	Kent . .	Hon. M. J. Stapleton	Lord Le Despencer
Tudeley, V. with Capel le Perne, C. }			
Salisbury.			
Ashley, R. and } North Wraxall, R. . }	Wilts . .	Michael Wyall }	Chan. of Duch. of Lanc. Mrs. Heneage.
Everley, R.	Wilts . .	D. D. Bergmen .	Sir J. D. Astley, Bart.
Fuggleston, St. Peter, } R. with Bemertou, V. }	Wilts . .	Charles Eddy .	Earl of Pembroke.
Preb. in Cath. Church }	Wilts . .	Thomas Davis . }	The Lord Bishop. John Davis, Esq. H. P. Wyndham, Esq.
Fisherton Delamere, }			
R. and Salisbury, }			
St. Martin, R. . . .			

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Residence or Appointment.</i>
Alderson, John	Curate of Blyton, near Gainsborough.
Atkinson, Wm. B. D.....	Fellow of Christ Coll. Cambridge.
Batten, Samuel Ellis	Assistant Mast. of Harrow School.
Benison, George	Formerly Curate of Heydon and Little Chishall, Essex.
Brown, W. L. D. D.	Professor of Divinity and Principal of Marischal College, Dean of the Chapel Royal and of the most ancient Order of the Thistle.
Cassan, Joseph, M.A.	Rector of Timmogue and Vicar of Tullamoy and Fosse, Ireland.
Delannoy, Thomas	East Langdon, Essex.
Digby Noel, M.A.....	At Brixton, Isle of Wight.
Dwarris, Charles Augustus..	Everton, Bedfordshire.
Francis, John	Bath.
Frankish, David	Resident Curate of Kirton, Lincolnshire.
Harrison, G.	Thurlestone, Yorkshire.
Holmes, J.	Thirsk.
Lowther, C. B. Ponsonby ..	Devizes, Wilts.
M'Guire, William	Chapl. to Liverpool Parish Workhouse.
Parker, M.A.	Curate of Wanborough, Wilts.
Phelan, Dr.....	Rector of Killyman, in the county of Tyrone, and of Artray, in the county of Derry.
Purton, William Christopher	Curate of Nailstone, Warwickshire.
Robinson, William	High Toynton, Lincolnshire.
Smith, Thomas Jenyns	At Dulwich College, Fellow of that Society forty-seven years.
Smith, William Ward, M.A.	Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford.
Somerville, Dr.	At Jedburgh.
Tindall, W.....	Head Master of Grammar School, Wolverhampton.
Waller, Sir C. Townsend, Bt.	Lisbrian, county of Tipperary.
Williams, W. B.	Minister of Ram's Chapel, Homerton.
Wintle, Henry, B.A.	Worcester College, Oxford.
Yeats, Edward, M.A.	One of the Senior Fellows of Trinity Coll. Cambridge.
Yonge, Charles	At Oxford, Second Master of Eton College.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

May 19.

Rev. Samuel Curlewis Lord, Wadhams College, grand compounder.

DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

April 21.

Rev. Frederick Benjamin Twisleton, Prebendary of Hereford, late Fellow of New College.

May 28.

Sir Wm. Heathcote, Bart. late Fellow of All Souls, grand compounder.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

March 24.

Rev. G. Huddleston, Merton College.
F. Jeune, Scholar of Pembroke Coll.
Other Philpott, St. John's College.

April 3.

Rev. Henry Wrightson, Queen's College, grand compounder.
Charles Pocock, Christ Church Coll.

April 21.

Charles Portales Golightly, Oriel College, grand compounder.

Rev. William George Dymock, Exeter College, grand compounder.

Rev. John Osborne, University Coll.
Rev. Philip Henry Lee, Fellow of Brasenose College.

Henry Darrell Stephens, Fellow of New College.

Rev. S. Brett Shirreff, Wadhams Coll.
Rev. John Fox, Queen's College.

April 29.

Rev. J. Hall Parlbay, University Coll.
E. Hughes Chamberlain, University College.

Rev. T. Hutchings, Chaplain of Christ Church College.

Charles Saxton, Christ Church College.

John R. F. Billingsley, Lincoln Coll.

Rev. R. Hawkins, Schol. of Pembroke College.

Rev. J. D. Orlando Crosse, Exeter College.

May 13.

T. Tunnard, St. Mary Hall, grand compounder.

Rev. Edward Dudley, Worcester Coll.

James Cox, Christ Church College.

May 19.

Rev. John Medley, Wadhams College, grand compounder.

Rev. John Hoole, Wadhams College.

Rev. Edward Sachevrel Cave Browne Cave, Brasenose College.

Rev. Henry Trimmer, Exeter College.

Rev. John Byron, Exeter College.

May 28.

Rev. James J. Rowe, Magdalen Hall.

Rev. F. T. Gregory, University Coll.

Rev. C. Griffith, Christ Church Coll.

Rev. George Horatio Hadfield, Pembroke College.

Frederick Pym, Worcester College.

Wilson Hetherington, Trinity College.

June 3.

Wm. Grant, Brasenose College, grand compounder.

Rev. Charles Hesketh, Trinity College, grand compounder.

J. Shepherd Birley, Brasenose College.

Rev. Fred. Maude, Brasenose College.

Rev. J. Sutcliffe, St. Edmund Hall.

Moses Mitchell, Magdalen Hall.

Wm. Griffith, Scholar of Jesus College.

Rev. Francis Marendaz, Jesus College.
Rev. Wm. Nicholson Fall, University College.

Rev. George Burton Hamilton, Corpus Christi College.

Edmund Walker Head, Fellow of Merton College.

Rev. Wm. H. Edmeades, Merton Coll.

Rev. T. Burne Lancaster, Merton Coll.

Nathaniel Constantine Strickland, Lincoln College.

Rev. Joseph Maude, Michel Scholar of Queen's College.

Rev. Charles Simon Faithfull Fanshawe, Demy of Magdalen College.

Henry Duke Harington, Fellow of Exeter College.

June 10.

Lord Clonbrock, Christ Church College, grand compounder.

Rev. Octavius Swale Harrison, Queen's College.

Rev. William Wheeler, Demy of Magdalen College.

Rev. John Owen Parr, Brasenose Coll.

Rev. Wm. J. Russell, Pembroke Coll.

Rev. Hen. Vincent Shortland, Lincoln College.

George Anthony Denison, Fellow of Oriel College.

Rev. James Aldridge, Exeter College.

Rev. John Savile Halifax, Trinity Coll.

Rev. Edw. Greville Ruddock, Trinity College.

Rev. Charles Bannatyne, Balliol Coll.

June 17.

U. T. Price, Christ Church College, grand compounder.

Matthew C. Thompson, Trinity College, grand compounder.

Rev. John Lampen, Exeter College, grand compounder.

Rev. Edward Arslabie Ommannay, Exeter College.

Rev. Edw. John Ward, Trinity Coll.

Rev. A. Bromiley, St. Edmund's Hall.

Rev. Joseph Charnock, Worcester Coll.

Rev. W. Whalley, Christ Church Coll.

Rev. William Pye, Student of Christ Church College.

T. B. H. Abrahall, Wadham College.

Wm. Ward Jackson, Lincoln College.

Walter Bishop Mant, Oriel College.

Rev. Jervis Trigge Gifford, Fellow of New College.

Admitted *ad eundem*, from the University of Cambridge—Messrs. Sedgwick, G. Peacock, W. Lewell, Ayrie, and Hemslow, presented by O. Duncan, Esq. Fellow of New College. Also, Rev. P. G. King, M.A. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, presented by the Rev. J. Corfe, of Magdalen College.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

April 22.

E. Greswell, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

James Thomas Round, Fellow of Balliol College, and Robert Alder Thorp, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, (the late Proctors of the University.)

May 13.

Rev. Charles Carr Clerke, Student of Christ Church College, and Archdeacon of Oxford.

Rev. John Anthony Cramer, late Student of Christ Church College, Public Orator of the University.

May 28.

Rev. Henry Arthur Woodgate, Fellow of St. John's College.

June 3.

Rev. P. Aubin, Fellow of Jesus Coll.

BACHELORS OF MEDICINE, (*with License to practise.*)

June 10.

Thomas Ogier Ward, Queen's College.

David Badham, Pembroke College.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

June 10.

Hon. and Rev. Charles Bathurst, Fellow of All Souls, grand compounder.

June 17.

Rev. W. Howard, Fellow of New Coll.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

March 24.

George Sackville Casement, Christ Church College.

Thomas Bullock, St. Alban Hall.

April 3.

John Pearson, Magdalen Hall.

April 21.

Richard Briscoe, Jesus College.

Henry Hild Nicholl, St. John's College.

Wm. T. Marychurch, Edmund Hall.

Thomas Mount Fallow, Edmund Hall.

April 29.

Charles Deedes, Merton College.

Allan Johnson, Merton College.

Sir Walter F. Farquhar, Bart. Christ Church College.

Hon. C. J. Murray, Christ Church Coll.

Thomas Blackburne, Brasenose Coll.

May 6.

Henry Cradock Nowell, Exhibitioner of Corpus Christi College.

Viscount Villiers, Christ Church Coll.
Hon. Henry Frederick Francis Adair
Barrington, Christ Church College.
T. Johnson Ormerod, Brasenose Coll.
James Bliss, Oriel College.

May 13.

Christopher Benson, Queen's College.
George T. Comyns, Wadham College.
Wm. John Blew, Wadham College.
John Fox, Worcester College.
Thomas Staniforth, Christ Church Coll.
Richard Entwisle, Brasenose College.
Arthur F. Daubeney, Brasenose Coll.
Alfred Cox, Scholar of Lincoln Coll.
William Davy, Exeter College.
Alfred Daniel, Exeter College.

May 19.

James Allan Harrison, St. Mary Hall.
W. Watts, Scholar of University Coll.
Travers Twiss, Sch. of University Coll.
John Upton Gaskell, Magdalen Hall.
Isaac Singleton Godmond, Queen's Coll.
Edward Cooke, Queen's College.
Jasper Nicolls Harrison, Scholar of
Worcester College.
John Bradley Dyne, Scholar of Wad-
ham College.

Henry Bostock, Wadham College.
Henry Fowler, Brasenose College.
Wm. R. Brown, Brasenose College.
Thomas Halton, Brasenose College.
James Guillemard, Fellow of St. John's
College.

Joseph Hayward, Exeter College.
S. Valentine Edwards, Trinity College.

May 28.

John Fort. Stansbury, Magdalen Hall.
John Henry Kendall, Magdalen Hall.
Arthur Grueber, St. Edmund Hall.
Walter Alford, St. Edmund Hall.
Russell Malcolm, University College.
Thomas Wm. Robson, University Coll.
Thomas Maurice, Merton College.
Penry Williams, Christ Church Coll.
H. Orlando Pigot, Christ Church Coll.
Morgan Davies, Jesus College.
James Sayer Ogle, Fellow of New Coll.
J. Duncombe Shafto, Brasenose Coll.
John James Digweed, Pembroke Coll.
Philip Kitchingman, Pembroke Coll.
Antony Denny, Worcester College.
Francis Crane Parsons, Worcester Coll.
David Jackson, Queen's College.
Thomas Pearson, Queen's College.
John Nicholson, Queen's College.
James Nash, Trinity College.
John Pyemont, Lincoln College.
Wm. W. Butler, Lincoln College.

Denis Edward Jones, Lincoln College.
George Malim, Lincoln College.
Thomas Henry Maitland, Oriel Coll.
Wm. Heberden Karslake, Oriel Coll.
T. George Francis Howes, Oriel Coll.
Thomas Pateson, Exeter College.

June 3.

Nicholas Kendall, Trinity College,
grand compounder.

Wm. Wayte Andrew, St. Mary Hall,
grand compounder.

Edw. McAll, St. Edmund Hall.
Thomas Wm. Webb, Magdalen Hall.
Robert Tones, Magdalen Hall.
Wm. Roche, Trinity College.
Daniel Jones, Jesus College.
Thomas Summers, Jesus College.
John Rogers, Balliol College.
Wm. B. Smythe, Corpus Christi Coll.
George Wm. Murray, Merton College.
Edwin Hotham, New College.
James Abernethy, Brasenose College.
Octavius Brock, Brasenose College.
James Stevens, St. John's College.
Edward Massey, Wadham College.
Osborne J. Tancock, Wadham College.
Edward Hawkins, Scholar of Pembroke
College.

R. Philip Mallet, Pembroke College.
G. M. Dowdeswell, Pembroke College.
Clement Le Hardy, Pembroke College.
Samuel Nicholls, Pembroke College.
Francis H. Romney, Worcester Coll.
George W. Kershaw, Worcester Coll.
John Palmer, Worcester College.
John Steward, Worcester College.
W. N. Skillicorne, Worcester College.
Sam. Hands Feild, Worcester College.
Robert Wm. Goodenough, Student of
Christ Church College.

Geoffrey Palmer, Christ Church Coll.
Edward Conroy, Christ Church Coll.
Owen B. Cole, Christ Church College.
John R. Drake, Christ Church Coll.
Charles Cheyne, Lincoln College.
John Marriott, Oriel College.
Henry Stevens, Oriel College.
Frederick Sturmer, Queen's College.
Eaton D. Denton, Queen's College.
Michael Dand, Queen's College.

June 10.

The Earl of Selkirk, Christ Church
College, grand compounder.

Atk. A. Holden, Christ Church Coll.
James Michell, Christ Church College.
Edward David, Jesus College.
Sayer Stone Warmoth, Queen's Coll.
J. Watson Stote Dennison, Univ. Coll.
J. J. Alphonso Brown, University Coll.

Henry James Hoskins, University Coll.
 Henry Hodges, University College.
 Wm. Edw. Frenchard, Pembroke Coll.
 Thomas Chandler Curties, Fellow of
 St. John's College.

Richard Hollings, St. John's College.
 Edward Massy, Brasenose College.
 Mat. Hutton Chaytor, Worcester Coll.
 Robert Henry Cooper, Worcester Coll.
 Francis Jenks Burlton, Worcester Coll.
 Bedford F. J. Willesford, Exeter Coll.
 Henry James, Balliol College.
 George Vigne, Trinity College.
 Wm. Smith, Trinity College.
 Henry Christopher Wise, Oriel Coll.

June 17.

Haller D. S. S. Horlock, Magdalen Hall, grand compounder.

W. A. Hodgson, Queen's College, grand compounder.

Peter David La Touche, Corpus Christi College.

Edward Odell, Christ Church College, grand compounder.

John Barrow, Scholar of Queen's Coll.

Wm. W. K. Bradford, Magdalen Hall.

Head Pottinger Best, University Coll.

John Cooke, Balliol College.

John Lewis Irwin, Christ Church Coll.

Henry Gray, Christ Church College.

Charles Wordsworth, Student of Christ Church College.

Thomas Whitaker, Worcester College.

Burrell Hayley, Worcester College.

A. Morden Bennett, Worcester Coll.

Frederick Wrench, Trinity College.

Thomas Houblon, Oriel College.

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

April 16.

Edward Blencowe, B. A. Scholar of Wadham College, and Clement Greswell, B.A. Scholar of Corpus Christi College, were elected Fellows of Oriel College. And the following Gentlemen were elected Fellows of Merton College:—Hon. James Stuart Wortley, B. A. Christ Church; Edmund Walker Head, B.A. Oriel College; and Frederick Calvert, B. A. Student of Christ Church.

April 21.

In Convocation this day, the Proctors of the past year, Mr. Round, of Balliol, and Mr. Thorp, of Corpus, resigned the

insignia of their office into the hands of the Vice-Chancellor, after which the new Proctors, having been presented by the Heads of their respective Colleges, according to the form prescribed by the statute, were severally admitted, and took the oaths of office.

SENIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Joseph Dornford, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College.

JUNIOR PROCTOR.

The Rev. Thomas Townson Churton, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose College.

PRO-PROCTORS.

The Rev. Thomas Griffiths, M.A. Fellow of Wadham College.

The Rev. John Henry Newman, M.A. Fellow of Oriel College.

The Rev. Frederick Ackers Dawson, M.A. Brasenose College.

The Rev. Richard Harington, M.A. Fellow of Brasenose College.

April 24.

Mr. Wm. Henry Walter Bigg Wither was admitted actual Fellow of New College.

April 29.

At a meeting of the Heads of Colleges, the Rev. Thomas Wm. Lancaster, M.A. late Michel Fellow of Queen's College, was appointed to preach the Bampton Lecture in the year 1831.

May 4.

Mr. Edward J. Wilcocks, Commoner of Exeter College, and Mr. Arthur Bedford Orlebar, Commoner of St. John's College, were elected Scholars of Lincoln College. At the same time Mr. David Thomas Knight, of Lincoln College, Mr. Robert Spofforth, of Pembroke College, and Mr. Daniel Butler, were elected Lord Crewe's Exhibitioners in that Society.

May 6.

Richard Mitchell, Esq. M.A. of Wadham College, was elected a Fellow of Lincoln College.

May 13.

In Convocation this day, a new statute, *De Examinandis Graduum Candidatis*, was submitted to the Members of Convocation. In order to afford an opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of the University on every point connected with the proposed alterations, the whole was

divided into fourteen sections, and the several sections were proposed one by one, with an understanding that the first was not to be submitted to the House, unless all the others had been previously agreed to. Of the remaining thirteen, five were adopted without any division, two were carried in the affirmative, and six were negatived; so that the old statute, as amended in the years 1825 and 1826, remains in force.

May 17.

Mr. George Day, Mr. Wm. Cother, and Mr. George Barnes, were elected Westminster Students of Christ Church.

June 3.

In Convocation this day, the Rev. John Ottley, M.A. late Fellow of Oriel, and the Rev. George Morris, M.A. Scholar of Corpus, were nominated Masters of the Schools for the ensuing year. Same day the Rev. Richard Martin, M.A. Fellow of Exeter, and the Rev. George Moberly, M.A. Fellow of Balliol, were nominated Public Examiners in *Literis Humanioribus*; and the Rev. Henry Reynolds, M.A. Scholar of Jesus, Public Examiner in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*.

June 4.

In Convocation this day, the Rev. Edward Higgins, M.A. of Brasenose, was nominated a Master of the Schools.

June 7.

The Rev. Henry William Robinson Michell, M.A. Scholar of Trinity, was elected a Probationer Fellow of that Society. At the same time Mr. H. Peter Guillemard Blount, Scholar of Trinity, and Mr. Roundell Palmer, Commoner of Christ Church, were elected Scholars on the Old Foundation; and Mr. John Thomas, of Wadham College, and Craven Scholar, was elected Blount Scholar of Trinity.

June 10.

The new statute *De Examinandis Graduum Candidatis*, was this day again submitted for the approbation of Convocation, having undergone several alterations since it was proposed in Easter Term. It nevertheless shared the same fate as its predecessor, two out of eleven of the sections submitted to the House having been negatived; in consequence of which the old statute of 1825 and 1826 remains in force.

June 11.

The following Gentlemen were elected and admitted Probationary Scholars of Corpus Christi College:—Henry John Onslow, Surrey; John Renaud, Hants; and John Wilson, Lancashire.

Same day Messrs. Charles Rew, Henry Heming, and Arthur R. Adams, were elected Probationary Fellows of St. John's College, from Merchant Taylors' School.

June 12.

Daniel Vawdry, B.A. was elected a Fellow of Brasenose College.

June 16.

The Rev. Richard Whately, D.D. and Principal of St. Alban's Hall, was unanimously elected Professor of Political Economy, in the room of Mr. Senior, of Magdalen, who has held that office for five years.

The Vice-Chancellor has been pleased to appoint the Rev. John Wm. Hughes, M.A. of Trinity College, and Chaplain of All Souls, to the office of Proctor in the University Court.

June 17.

The Rev. John Manuel Echalecz, M.A. was admitted actual Fellow of Trinity College; and Thomas North was elected a Scholar of Brasenose College.

Same day Mr. John Barrow was elected Taberdar of Queen's College, and Mr. D. C. Farraday, Mr. H. Gough and Mr. W. Bushby, Scholars of the above Society on the Old Foundation. And Mr. W. Bowring and Mr. H. Hamer were elected Bridgman's Exhibitioners.

The Lancashire Scholarship at Corpus Christi College was assigned to Master John Wilson, of the Free Grammar School, Clitheroe, eldest son of the Vicar of Milton, after a sharp competition, and an examination which lasted nearly six days.

A Congregation will be holden on Tuesday, July 6th, solely for the purpose of admitting Inceptors to their Regency.

No person will, on any account, be admitted as a candidate for the degree of B. A. or M. A., or for that of B. C. L., without proceeding through Arts, whose name is not entered in the book, kept for that purpose, at the Vice-Chancellor's house, on or before the day preceding the day of Congregation.

EXAMINATIONS.

Easter Term.

The names of those Candidates, who, at the close of the Public Examinations, were admitted by the Public Examiners into the three Classes of *Literæ Humaniores*, and *Disciplina Mathematicæ et Physicæ*, respectively, according to the Alphabetical arrangement in each Class prescribed by the Statute, stand as follow:—

LITERÆ HUMANIORES.

First Class.

Bliss, James, Oriel College.
Carter, Thomas, Christ Church.
Dudding, Horatio, Exeter College.
Harrison, Benjamin, Christ Church.
Wordsworth, Charles, Christ Church.

Second Class.

Barrow, John, Queen's College.
Cockey, Edward, Wadham College.
Dyne, John, Wadham College.
Harrison, Jasper, Worcester College.
Massie, Edward, Wadham College.
Pearson, Thomas, Queen's College.
Trenchard, Wm., Pembroke College.
Twiss, Travers, University College.

Third Class.

Alexander, Richard, Wadham College.
Bostock, Henry, Wadham College.
Cox, Alfred, Lincoln College.
Daniel, Alfred, Exeter College.
Godmond, Isaac, Queen's College.
Goodenough, Robert, Christ Church.
Halton, Thomas, Brasenose College.
Hayward, Joseph, Exeter College.
Maitland, Thomas, Oriel College.
Malim, George, Lincoln College.
Maurice, Thomas, Merton College.
Money, William, Oriel College.
Patteson, Thomas, Exeter College.
Randolph, Herbert, Balliol College.
Rogers, John, Balliol College.
Thrupp, Edward, Wadham College.
Watts, William, University College.

RENN DICKSON HAMPDEN,
J. WILLIAMS,
JOHN CARR,
JAMES GARBETT,
RICHARD MICHELL,
W. H. COX,

Examiners.

DISCIPLINÆ MATHEMATICÆ ET PHYSICÆ.

First Class.

Cockey, Edward, Wadham College.
Denton, Eaton, Queen's College.

Hill, Edward, Christ Church.
The Earl of Selkirk, Christ Church.
Twiss, Travers, University College.

Second Class.

Harrison, Benjamin, Christ Church.
Nowell, Henry, Corpus Christi College.
Stocker, William, St. John's College.
Watts, William, University College.

Third Class.

Alford, Walter, St. Edmund's Hall.
Tomes, Robert, Magdalen Hall.

WILLIAM KAY,

AUGUSTUS PAGE SAUNDERS,

GEORGE RIGGS,

Examiners.

The number of the *Fourth Class*, namely, of those who were deemed worthy of their Degree, but not deserving of any honourable distinction, was 129.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

* * * The Prizes of £20 each are annually given for the best Compositions in Latin Verse, Latin Prose, and English Prose.

Subjects:—

Latin Verse—"Tyrus."

Adjudged to

William Palmer, Demy of Magdalen.

Subject for the ensuing year:—

"Numantia."

English Essay—

"The character of Socrates, as described by his disciples, Xenophon and Plato, under the different points of view in which it is contemplated by each of them."

Adjudged to

Herman Merivale, B.A. late Scholar of Trinity, now Fellow of Balliol.

Subject for the ensuing year:—

"On the Use and Abuse of Theory."

Latin Essay—

"Utrum apud Græcos an apud Romanos magis exulta fuerit civilis scientia?"

Adjudged to

Anthony Grant, Student in Civil Law, and Fellow of New College.

Subject for the ensuing year:—

"Quænam fuerit Oratorum Atticorum apud Populum auctoritas?"

SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.

Subject:—

English Verse—"The African Desert."

Adjudged to

George Kettilby Rickards, Scholar of Trinity.

Subject for the ensuing year:—

"The Suttess."

REV. DR. ELLERTON'S THEOLOGICAL PRIZE

of £21, annually, for the best English Essay on some doctrine or duty of the Christian Religion, or on some of the points on which we differ from the Romish

Church, or on any other subject of Theology which shall be deemed meet and useful.

Subject:—

"Whether the doctrine of One God, differing in his nature from all other beings, was held by any Heathen nation or sect of philosophers, before the birth of Christ."

Adjudged to

C. P. Eden, B.A. Oriol College.

Subject for the ensuing year:—

"The Evidence deduced from Prophecy in support of the truth of Christianity."

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM APRIL TO JUNE INCLUSIVE.

DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

June 11.

Rev. Rich. Newton Adams, Fellow of Sidney Sussex Coll.

DOCTOR IN PHYSIC.

April 28.

Thomas Elliotson, Jesus Coll.

HON. MASTER OF ARTS.

April 28.

Lord Pollington, Trin. Coll. eldest son of the Earl of Mexborough.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

March 26.

Thomas Stevens, St. John's Coll.

Rev. Robert Twigg, St. Peter's Coll.

Thos. Ramsden Ashworth, Jesus Coll.

Rev. Crosbie Morgell, Trin. Coll. (incorporated from Dublin.)

Inceptors to the Degree.

Rev. W. Carus, Fellow of Trin. Coll.

Rev. E. Peacock, Fellow of St. John's College.

G. Ash Butterson, Fellow of St. John's College.

Rev. B. H. Kennedy, Fell. of St. John's College.

Charles Yate, Fellow of St. John's Coll.

Rev. John Livesey, St. John's Coll.

William Hopkins, St. Peter's Coll.

H. Percy Gordon, Fellow of St. Peter's College.

Francis Wm. Anquetil, St. Peter's, Coll.

John Tinkler, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

Rev. H. Senhouse Pinder, Fellow of Caius College.

Rev. W. R. Colbeck, Fell. of Emman. College.

R. J. Bunch, Fell. of Emman. College.

April 28.

Beedam Charlesworth, Trinity Coll.

Rev. Thomas Jarrett, Fell. Cath. Hall.

F. T. Sergeant, Corpus Christi Coll.

Thomas Sikes, Queen's College.

May 16.

Samuel Best, King's College.

Rev. Theodore Dury, Pembroke Coll.

Septimus Dawes, Caius Coll.

May 26.

Thomas Turner, Fellow of Trin. Coll.

V. F. Hovenden, Fell. of Trin. Coll.

John Hills, St. John's College.

John Bishop, Trin. Hall, Comp.

George King, Corpus Christi College.

June 11.

Rev. Edward Lindsell, Jesus College, Comp.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

May 16.

Rev. David Jones, Queen's College.

June 11.

Rev. Peter Debary, Senior of Trinity Coll. Comp.

Rev. Alex. M. Walc, Fell. of St. John's Coll. Comp.

Rev. Joseph Dewe, Fell. Queen's Coll.

Rev. Wm. Farley Wilkinson, Fellow of Corpus Christi College.

Rev. Wm. Hobson, Cath. Hall, Comp.

Rev. Thomas Mortimer, Queen's Coll.

Rev. David Evans, Queen's Coll.

LICENTIATE IN PHYSIC.

May 26.

James Johnstone, Trin. Coll.

BACHELORS IN PHYSIC.

June 11.

John Jackson, sen. Catherine Hall, (*by royal mandate on his departure for India*).

Charles Joseph Fox, St. John's Coll.

Disney Launder Thorpe, Caius Coll.

John Pendlebury, Queen's Coll.

Wm. Whitworth, Jesus Coll. Comp.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

March 26.

Chas. Augustus Nott, Trin. Coll.

James Howell Pattison, St. John's Coll.

April 28.

Rev. Frederick Baring, Christ's Coll.

May 26.

Henry Bond, Christ's Coll.

June 11.

James Dewhurst Sprigge, St. Peter's Coll. Comp.

Augustus Fred. Bayford, Trin. Hall.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

March 26.

Rev. G. H. Langdon, St. Peter's Coll.

April 2.

Peter Spencer, St. Peter's Coll.

Thomas Smithett, Queen's Coll.

J. N. Glass Lynn, Queen's Coll.

Jas. Peel Cockburn, St. John's Coll.

William Corbould, Emmanuel Coll.

Edward Boor, Emmanuel Coll.

April 28.

James Willis Sanders, Trin. Coll.

John Monson Carrow, Trin. Coll.

John King Eagles, Trin. Coll.

Edm. Nelson Cooper, Trin. Coll.

Fred. Charles Cook, St. John's Coll.

George Booth, St. John's Coll.

Thomas Bates, St. Peter's Coll.

William Darby, St. Peter's Coll.

William Ketland Izon, Pembroke Coll.

Devereux Hill, Clare Hall.

Thomas Henry Say, Caius Coll.

Claudius Sandys, Queen's Coll.

Abner Wm. Brown, Queen's Coll.

Thomas Leah, Queen's Coll.

Charles Waller, Queen's Coll.

John Kirk Marsh, Queen's Coll.

Richard Evans, Queen's Coll.

James Wright, Queen's Coll.

Richard Bealby, Catherine Hall.

Benjamin F. Tuckness, Cath. Hall.

William Tomkins, Catherine Hall.

Francis T. Blackburn, Jesus Coll.

William Nunn, Jesus Coll.

Frederick Barker, Jesus Coll.

Gilbert Henry West, Jesus Coll.

Bradford Wilmer, Christ's Coll.

John Lachlan McLachlan, Sidney Coll.

May 16.

Lewis Wm. Sampson, Fellow of King's College.

Charles Powell, Trin. Coll.

Robert Moulton Atkinson, St. John's College.

William Biscoe, Queen's Coll.

James Sanders, Queen's Coll.

Arthur Mackeson Parkinson, Jesus College.

May 26.

Francis Turnlep, Trin. Coll.

Wm. John Corey, Clare Hall, Comp.

George Knollis Jarvis, Pemb. Coll.

Thomas Walker, Trin. Hall.

George Ayton Whitaker, Emman. Coll.

June 11.

George Bingley, Trin. Coll.

George Broadhead, Trin. Coll.

Francis Hastings Gordon, Trin. Coll.

Wm. Edson Lumb, Trin. Coll.

Wm. Ramsay, Trin. Coll.

Samuel Starkey, Trin. Coll.

Wm. Lewis Mills, Queen's Coll.

Henry Armstrong, Christ Coll.

William Hutchinson Apthorpe, Christ's College.

Chas. Alexander Stuart, Trin. Hall

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY
INTELLIGENCE.

March 26.

Edward Hayes Pickering, B. A. of Trinity College, was admitted a Fellow of St. John's College, on the nomination of the Lord Bishop of Ely.

March 29.

John Bailey, John Harrison Evans, Thomas Lund, John Charles Snowball, Henry Almack, and George Langshaw, Bachelors of Arts of St. John's College, were elected Foundation Fellows of that Society.

April 2.

Gentlemen of Trinity College elected Scholars of that Society:—

Entwisle	Blakesley	Hamilton
Cameron	Whiston	Thompson
Sheppard	Walsh	—
Colville	Lushington	<i>Westm. Schol.</i>
Wormald	Alford	Macdonald
Warren	Shilleto	Woodfall
Cookesley	Heath	Heathcote

Frederick Thomas William Coke Fitz-Roy, B. A. of Magdalene College, has been appointed by the Hon. and Rev. the Master of that Society, to the Norfolk travelling Fellowship.

Mr. Florence James Wethered, Scholar of King's College, has been admitted Fellow of that Society.

James W. Lucas Heaviside, Esq., B.A. of Sidney College, was elected Mathematical Lecturer of that Society.

April 7.

At a Court of Directors of the Hon. the East India Company, James Anireaux Jeremie, Esq., M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, was unanimously elected to the Professorship of Classical and General Literature at the East India College, Haileybury, vacant by the death of the Rev. Edward Lewton.

April 24.

Tugwell Rebins, B. A., George Urquhart, B. A., and Edward Yardley, B. A., of Magdalene College, have been elected Fellows of that Society.

May 21.

Mr. Harry Dupuis, Scholar of King's College, was admitted Fellow of that Society.

May 31.

The Rev. Adam Sedgwick, M. A., Professor of Geology and Fellow of Trinity College, was elected a Senior of that Society, in the room of the late Rev. Edw. Yeats, M. A.

At a congregation this day, a grace passed the Senate, "to confirm the report of the Syndics, appointed to consider the best means of removing the Botanic Garden."

At a congregation this day the following grace passed the Senate. *Placeat vobis, ut Dominus Procancellarius, Dr. French, Dr. Ainslie, Dr. Turton, Professor Whewell, Mr. Lodge, Mr. M. Thackeray, Mr. Blick, Mr. Jones, Mr. Griffith, Mr. Shelford, Mr. Sheepshanks, Mr. Graham, Mr. King, Mr. Shedholme, Mr. Hildyard, Mr. Cape, Mr. Dawes, et Mr. Gibson, Syndici nominentur, qui tum de Bibliotheca vestra amplificanda, tum de Auditoriis Museisque quibus opus fuerit extruendis consulant, respecta habito ad gratias super hac re a vobis jamjam concessas; necnon inquirant quibus potissimum rationibus facultates idoneæ ad ea opera efficienda comparari possint; denique de his omnibus, aut simul aut separatim, ante proximum terminum finitum, referant ad Senatum.*

June 1.

R. A. Wellesley Rothman, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, was appointed by the Master to the Lay Fellowship, held by the late F. Malkin, Esq., M. A.

The Syndicate appointed to consider the best means of removing the Botanical Garden, have reported to the Senate—"That they are unanimously of opinion that the most eligible site for the new Botanic Garden is the ground belonging to Trinity Hall, adjoining Mr. Pemberton's land, at the entrance into Cambridge from the London Road: and as the Master and Fellows of Trinity have expressed their readiness to accommodate the University with such a portion of this allotment of land as may be required for the new Garden, on condition of receiving in exchange the allotment of land belonging to the University in the parish of Barnwell, and that the difference in the value of the property so exchanged (if any) should be paid for in money; the Syndics recommend the Senate to sanction the removal of the Garden to the above site, and the exchange of land on the proposed terms." A grace will therefore be offered to the Senate on Monday next, to appoint the present Syndics a Syndicate, to take the necessary steps for obtaining an Act of Parliament to effect these objects, and to enable the trustees of the present Botanic Garden to dispose of the old Garden on building leases, or

for the purpose of converting it into a market place, if practicable, as counsel may advise. The Syndicate, appointed to consult respecting the old Printing House and the adjoining premises have reported to the Senate:—"That having examined the said premises, and consulted together respecting their value, they recommend that the same be offered to Queen's College (from which they were purchased by the University) for the sum of £7000."

The following Summary of the Members of this University is extracted from the Cambridge Calendar for the present year:—

	Members of the Senate.	Members on the Boards.
Trinity College . . .	700	1531
St. John's . . .	509	1109
Queen's . . .	83	365
St. Peter's . . .	87	231
Caius . . .	93	230
Emanuel . . .	101	221
Christ's . . .	73	218
Corpus Christi . . .	52	192
Jesus . . .	84	181
Catherine Hall . . .	41	167
Clare Hall . . .	71	155
Trinity Hall . . .	29	134
Magdalene College . . .	52	128
King's . . .	80	119
Pembroke . . .	51	112
Sidney . . .	45	106
Downing . . .	21	57
Commorantes in Villa . . .	7	7
	<hr/> 2179	<hr/> 5263
Increase since last year . . .		118

BELL'S SCHOLARSHIPS.

The Election, March 26, was determined as follows:—

A. W. Chatfield, Trin. Col.	} 3d year.
H. P. Cookesley, Trin. Col.	
J. H. Howell, St. John's . . .	} 1st year.
J. Dimock, St. John's . . .	

TYRWITT'S HEBREW SCHOLARSHIP.

The Rev. William John Aislabic, B.A. and John Hopkins Bailey, B.A. of Trinity College, were elected Scholars of the 1st Class, and declared equal in merit.

PRIZES.

CHANCELLOR'S GOLD MEDAL.

[To a resident Undergraduate for the best English Poem.]

Subject—"Byzantium."

Adjudged to

William Chapman Kinglake, Trin. Col.

MEMBERS' PRIZES.

[Four Prizes of 15 guineas each, to two Senior and two Middle Bachelors of Arts, who shall compose the best dissertations in Latin Prose.]

Subject:—

"Quantum momenti, ad studium rei Theologiæ promovendum, habuit literarum humaniorum cultus?"—SEN.

The Bachelor's Prizes were adjudged—the first to Edward Herbert Fitzherbert, and the second to Thomas Jodrell Phillips, both of Trinity College.

The Examiners consider these Essays as possessing sufficient merit to entitle the authors to the prize of 30 guineas each, and they will be printed.

The usual Prize of 15 guineas is awarded to A. W. Chatfield, Undergraduate of Trinity College, but the Essay is not to be printed. No second Prize is adjudged.

Subject:—

"Quæ sit forma Πολιτείας ad Græciæ renascentis statum optimè accommodata?"

PERSON UNIVERSITY PRIZE.

[The Dividends of £400 Navy 5 per Cent. to be expended in the purchase of Greek Books, to be given to an Undergraduate yearly, at the Commencement, as a Prize for Greek Verses.

Adjudged to

Charles Rann Kennedy, of Trin. Col.

Subject:—

"Romeo and Juliet, Act II, Scene 2."

Beginning—

"He jests at scars."

And ending—

"I'll no longer be a Capulet."

SIR WILLIAM BROWNE'S MEDALLISTS.

Subjects:—

Greek Ode—"Ilyssi Laus."

Adjudged to

James Hildyard, Christ's College.

Latin Ode—"Cumæ."

Adjudged to

Charles Rann Kennedy, Trinity College.

Greek Epigram—"Ægrescit medendo."

Latin Epigram—"Spatius inclusus iniquis."

Adjudged to

William Fitzherbert, Queen's College.

JUNIOR SOPHS' EXAMINATION, *Lent Term*, 1830.

EXAMINERS.

Fra. Wm. Lodington, M.A. Clare Hall.
Henry John Rose, M.A. St. John's Coll.

Edward Baines, M.A. Christ's College.
G. Barber Paley, M.A. St. Peter's Col.

[*The Names are arranged alphabetically.*]

FIRST CLASS.

Absolom,	Trin.	Churton,	Joh.	Freeman, E.	Corp.	Joel,	Joh.
Ackworth,	Qu.	Clarke, T.	Corp.	Fysb,	Qu.	Jones, P.	Joh.
Alford,	Trin.	Clarke, T.	Joh.	Gamson,	Cath.	Kingleake,	Trin.
Allen, J.	Trin.	Clarkson,	Chr.	Garnett,	Trin.	Kinleside,	Emin.
Allfree,	Joh.	Clayton,	Qu.	Girardot,	Emm.	Knox,	Trin.
Antrobus, E.	Joh.	Close,	Qu.	Gibbs,	Emm.	Laing,	Joh.
Austin,	Cath.	Clifford,	Cath.	Goddard,	Cath.	Langdale,	Cath.
Badger,	Trin.	Colebrooke,	Trin.	Golding,	Qu.	Langley,	Joh.
Baily,	Sid.	Considine,	Joh.	Goldney,	Trin.	Lascelles,	Cath.
Baker,	Chr.	Cotesworth,	Pet.	Goodday,	Pemb.	Laurence,	Pet.
Bedwin,	Jes.	Cotterill,	Joh.	Gowring,	Trin.	Layton,	Corp.
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The preface to the first volume states, that the work thus announced had been received with a large measure of public favour, and with the most honourable testi-

monies to its usefulness, and promises of support, even some "in quarters where the conductors were not sanguine in expecting them." Tories alleged that it was Whig, and Whigs that it was Tory; Calvinists that it was Arminian, and Arminians that it was Calvinistic; some Dissenters called it High Church, and some High-Churchmen thought it too conciliating towards Dissenters: a proof, it was inferred, that truth, and not party, was the object which its supporters wished to follow.

Among the writers who have, regularly or occasionally, enriched the pages of the work by their correspondence and contributions, might be named many whose talents and piety stand in high honour among their countrymen. To those who still live it would not be decorous to allude; nor of those who have departed to a better world would the conductors publish any name which the individual or his friends have not themselves made public. Yet even a list thus limited would furnish no unfavourable sample; for obituaries and posthumous publications have, in various instances, shewn to whose pen the reader was to attribute valuable papers, or collections of papers, which had already greatly interested him under an anonymous signature. Among these might be specified Dr. Jowett*, the Rev. J. Venn†, Mr. Henry Thornton‡, Bishop Heber§, Mr. J. Bowdler, jun.||, Mr. John Pearson, the Rev. T. Drewitt, the Rev. John Owen, the Rev. Thomas Scott, the Rev. Legh Richmond, Dr. Claudius Buchanan,

* Dr. Jowett's papers on Biblical criticism, especially on the litigated passage 1 John v. 7, have been, and still are, highly valued by many eminent scholars.

† Among Mr. Venn's papers were a considerable number of most excellent family sermons.

‡ This distinguished statesman, whose deep and unaffected piety and unwearied activity in every work of Christian benevolence, were as remarkable as that enlightened judgment and powerful mind which, in conjunction with higher qualities, rendered him so great a blessing to the world, was one of the most considerable and valuable contributors to the work.

§ Bishop Heber first inserted in the *Christian Observer* a number of those beautiful hymns on the Church Fasts and Festivals which are contained in the volume of his Hymns, published since his death, but prepared by himself for publication.

|| See his "Remains;" a work which notwithstanding the high tone of scriptural piety of the writer, extorted, by its talent, from the rival Quarterly Reviews of London and Edinburgh the highest encomiums. The papers which the reviewers chiefly lauded, and wondered where they could have appeared, were extracted from the *Christian Observer*.

Mr. Hey, and many others *. In several instances, valuable works, with the names of living authors, are a republication with enlargements of papers in the *Christian Observer*: such as Mr. Babington's admirable work on Education; Hodgson's Letters on America, which Americans state to be the most correct and candid book which has ever been written in England on the subject; the Rev. C. Bridges's valuable work on the Causes of the Inefficiency of the Christian Ministry, especially in the Church of England (a work of great piety and spiritual utility); Mr. Riland's faithful and powerful delineation of "Antichrist;" Mr. Newnham's able and interesting treatise on Superstition; and the Rev. J. Mendham's judicious and learned *Clavis Apostolica* †. Various others might be added.

Numerous testimonies to the character of the work,

* See the Memoir of Mr. Scott, by the Rev. J. Scott; of Mr. Richmond, by the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe; of Dr. Buchanan, by the present Dean of Salisbury; and of Mr. Hey, by the late John Pearson, Esq.: in which many of their papers are alluded to or republished. Mr. Pearson (himself a most valuable contributor to the *Christian Observer*), in mentioning Mr. Hey's papers in its pages, says, "This periodical work has now been so many years in circulation, that its merits may be safely left to speak for themselves: and although it has participated in the lot of many other useful productions—that of being misunderstood by some, misrepresented by others, and opposed by the enemies of the faith and hope of the Gospel—yet it has surmounted all opposition, and, through the Divine assistance, has been eminently and extensively beneficial both to the clergy and laity of this kingdom. The *Christian Observer* has displayed good temper, and a spirit of moderation and candour, towards the various denominations of Christians: it has demonstrated that genuine and fervent piety may exist without ignorance or fanaticism; that polemical discussions may be conducted without railing, bitterness, or asperity; and that sobriety of mind and cautious investigation are not hostile to purity of faith or soundness of doctrine. Above all, the *Christian Observer* has been the unwearied and zealous advocate of scriptural morality: it has enlarged on the extent and holiness of the Divine law; rescued the preceptive parts of the Gospel from the cold, heartless, insipid commentaries of those who would reduce Christianity to a round of formal observances, and a decent conformity to social duties; and, by inculcating the necessity of combining spiritual affections with an orderly and correct practice, it has laboured to convey and excite the most enlarged, noble, generous, and animated conceptions of the nature and genius of true religion: and it has pleased God to bless its endeavours with an abundant success."

† That truly orthodox and learned prelate, Dr. Magee, Archbishop of Dublin, in his invaluable treatise on the Atonement, in noticing, with high encomium, Mr. Mendham's "admirable Key," as the papers appeared anonymously in the *Christian Observer*, takes occasion to characterise that periodical publication as "distinguished for the uprightness and talent with which it is conducted;" and his Grace's sentiment is echoed by the Rev. Hartwell Horne, who quotes it in his Introduction to the New Testament.

and the benefits which, by the blessing of God, have attended its perusal, might be adduced from the writings of individuals, living and dead, whose approbation is honour. The following may be the rather mentioned, as the writer is in a better world, and his approval was beyond the suspicion of partiality, he being neither a fellow-countryman nor a member of our own communion. Dr. Dwight, the revered and lamented President of Yale College, Connecticut, united with some other well-known friends of religion to introduce the *Christian Observer* to his countrymen, among whom it obtained so much celebrity that it was soon regularly reprinted every month, in two rival editions, at New York and Boston; and it has been the model on which several American religious publications, particularly in the Episcopal Church, have been professedly planned and conducted. The following is a copy of Dr. Dwight's commendatory address:—

“The publishers of the American edition of the *Christian Observer* having requested of me a recommendation of that work to the public, I take a peculiar pleasure in complying with their wishes. I have taken this work from its commencement, and throughout the whole of its continuance have considered it as the best periodical publication within my knowledge. It has also been more uniformly supported than any other production of a similar nature. The religious doctrines countenanced by the Editor and his principal supporters are generally those of the Reformation. In a few particulars they differ somewhat from the most generally-received orthodoxy of America: on these, however, they rarely insist. Those in which the creeds and confessions of Protestant churches have chiefly united, they illustrate and defend with distinguished ability. The spirit which reigns in this work is, I think, singularly happy. Catholicism and zeal are, perhaps, no where more successfully united. The piety of the Gospel is here strongly as well as amiably displayed; and even controversy is carried on without tarnishing the Christian character. The subordinate contributors, imbibing the disposition of the principal, proceed in the same course of moderation and excellence. The plan of the work includes Religious and Miscellaneous Communications, Reviews, Literary and Philosophical Intelligence, a View of Public Affairs, &c. &c. The heads are well chosen, and are filled up with advantage. The republication of this work in America is a public benefit, and reflects honour on the undertakers.”

Many similar testimonies from foreigners might be mentioned; but we shall adduce only the following, from the pen of the late Bâron de Staël, which we must not omit, lest our Protestant friends on the continent of Europe should think we value their obliging suffrages less than those of their Western brethren. That excellent and beloved nobleman, it is well known, was exceedingly anxious to extend the religious literature of England to France and Switzerland. The following passage from his pen appears in the records of the "Société de la Morâle Chrétienne:"—"Le plus important des ouvrages que j'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer est la collection, dès le commencement, du *Christian Observer*, écrit périodique fort répandu en Angleterre, où il exerce depuis plusieurs années une grande et salutaire influence. Je suis assuré d'avance, Messieurs, qu'en parcourant le *Christian Observer* vous y reconnaîtrez avec bonheur l'union du sentiment religieux le plus intime avec des vues liberales sur toutes les grandes questions de la politique; et j'ose croire que vous penserez comme moi, qu'il serait fort important pour notre Société de recevoir désormais les numéros de ce journal à mesure qu'ils paraîtront."

It is peculiarly gratifying to the conductors, that a work which approved itself to a Porteus and a Barrington (we still refrain from specifying living names) in our own church, should, without shrinking from the expression of what a Dwight or a De Staël must think exclusive principles, have commended itself to their suffrages by the spirit in which they were advocated.

Among the subjects which have occupied a prominent place in the work, there are some on which its conductors look back with peculiar interest. At the period when they commenced their labours, Europe appeared to be sinking under one vast overpowering despotism: infidelity and irreligion were also spoiling men of their eternal hopes; and few and feeble were the efforts to counteract their influence. Our own church had not awakened to those zealous labours which now so widely animate her members. The doctrines of the Reformation were very inadequately insisted upon by her clergy: and, with the exception of two or three of the older societies, reduced almost to the torpor of the surrounding mass, scarcely any thing was done to educate the poor, to send the Gospel to the heathen, or to better the general condition of mankind. Our vast foreign possessions were almost destitute of religious instruction;

and the vessels which now leave our shores freighted with Tracts and Bibles and Missionaries, or with the productions of a peaceful commerce, were then seen bearing down with warlike equipments, or with chains and cruel arms to desolate Africa. On all these points the eye of a Christian Observer could not but be intently and painfully fixed; and not a few of the pages of this work have been devoted to them. The exposition of the horrors of the slave trade, and, since its abolition, of slavery, at once its source and its fruit; the opening of India to missionary instruction, and the formation of a church-establishment for that immense empire*, and also for our other colonies; the important discussions relative to the doctrines of our Reformers and our Church; the points at issue with our Dissenting brethren, with the Church of Rome, and also those which divide the members of our own communion; the interpretation of the inspired prophecies (on which not a few of the chief writers who have turned their minds to this subject during the last thirty years have, anonymously or by name, stated their views through the medium of the *Christian Observer*); obituaries and memoirs of persons eminent for piety in our own and former times, including many original notices, which have rendered this department of the work one of its most interesting and valuable portions; the painful, but ultimately useful, controversies which arose out of those plans of Christian benevolence which began about the period of the commencement of our publication (particularly the Bible Society, and the education of all classes of the poor)—these and similar topics of discussion have employed many a page—not, it is hoped, without benefit—of this miscellany. Bad as is the world, defective as are our best institutions, far as our own clergy and laity are from perfection, and dimly distant as still appears the prospect of a Millennium; much, very much, has been effected

* The Dean of Salisbury, in his highly interesting life of Dr. Buchanan, after alluding to the memorable controversy which took place, relative to the duty and practicability of introducing Christianity into India, and forming an ecclesiastical establishment for that country, is pleased to add:—"It would be unjust to close this brief enumeration of the principal writers in this controversy, without mentioning the eminent services of one periodical publication, distinguished by the zeal and ability with which it originally embraced and steadily supported the great cause of Christianity in India. It is scarcely necessary to add the name of the *Christian Observer*, which, whether in the examination of the productions on either side of the question, or in original communications, may justly claim a very considerable share of the praise which belongs to its successful termination."

during the present century, in which the Christian and the philanthropist must greatly rejoice.—In the course of their labours, the conductors of the Christian Observer have had to record, among numerous other subjects of interest to all who are anxious for the glory of God and the welfare of mankind, the struggles and the triumph which signalized the abolition of the African slave-trade; the opening of the East to Christian instruction; the emancipation of Europe from a military usurpation; the wide diffusion of just principles of liberty; the increased attention devoted to moral and political economy, with a view to better the condition of mankind; the modern reviviscence and extension of several societies which had previously existed for the promotion of religious and benevolent objects throughout the world; and the origin and wonderful progress of those more recent Bible and Missionary Institutions which have now taken fast root in every quarter of the globe, all simultaneously operating to hasten on the time when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ; the astonishing progress of education under the system of mutual instruction—the vast powers of which were unknown to Europe till long within the period of which we are speaking—and the societies formed to diffuse its benefits throughout the world, and the important results of their exertions: and, besides all this, societies for the conversion of the Jews, societies for promoting virtue and suppressing vice, societies literary and philosophical, mendicity societies, savings banks and friendly societies, anti-slavery societies, Prayer-Book and Homily societies, prison discipline societies, church-building societies, colonization societies for the outcasts of Africa, societies for assisting indigent clergymen, societies for improving the condition of the poor—to say nothing of numerous institutions of a more limited kind, which have for their object the relief of various calamities incident to our fallen humanity. Nor is it the least pleasing feature of the events which we have witnessed and recorded, that our own clergy are more decidedly enlisting themselves in increasing numbers under those Scriptural banners which the Martyrs and Reformers of our church delighted to bear; and that of her laity, also, multitudes, influenced by Christian motives, aspire to assist in the general extension of religious knowledge. It is comparatively little, that any particular publication may have been enabled to contribute towards these glorious results; but each has its

own circle of influence ; and the conductors of the Christian Observer would hope, that a work conscientiously, however feebly, devoted to these objects, could not have been so long continued and so widely circulated without conducing, by the blessing of God, in some humble measure, to the end proposed. Indeed, scarcely a month elapses without their receiving communications, many of them from persons now occupying eminent posts of usefulness in the public eye, which prove that "their labours have not been in vain in the Lord." This is their consolation, and this, it is trusted, will animate them to renewed and persevering exertion.

While this Preface is passing through the press, the Editor has received many communications approving of the design of publishing a selection from the Family Sermons, which for many years have appeared monthly in that publication. He has great pleasure in subjoining, with the kind permission of the writers, the two following, from two much esteemed and venerated friends,—Mr. Wilberforce and Mrs. Hannah More.

"My dear sir,—I have heard, with very great pleasure, of your intention to collect into a volume a selection of the Sermons dispersed throughout that very valuable periodical, the Christian Observer, thus rescuing from the mass those sound and excellent portions of Divinity, and presenting them to the public in a compendium, which will be a real acquisition to it. The volume will be most acceptable to many of your readers, not only for their own use, but to present to families in which the Christian Observer is hitherto unknown. I have taken this work from the very beginning, and I continue to prize it as highly as I have ever done, and count its *now long* range of volumes not among the least valuable part of my library.

"I am, dear sir, with much esteem, yours faithfully,

"HANNAH MORE."

"My dear sir,—I have heard with great pleasure that you are about to publish a volume of the Sermons that for a long period have constituted each one article in every Number of the Christian Observer ; for with such of the sermons as have been read to me (the weakness of my eyes preventing my reading them myself) I have been much pleased. Would you not also extract some other articles from the Christian Observer ? I know of no publication of the kind which contains so many of superior merit. The cause I have just specified has, to my regret, rendered me less acquainted with the Christian Observer than I formerly was ; but I think so highly of it, and of the many excellent Contributors to it (many of them, alas ! friends, that are now no more), that I must rejoice in any circumstance which will be likely to draw it into augmented notice.

"I am, my dear sir, yours, very sincerely,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

The Sermons are short, plain, and practical ; and are particularly intended for perusal in families on Sunday evenings, or where there is not a second service at church.

